

THE CLERGY REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1952

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The CLERGY REVIEW

NEW SERIES VOL. XXXVII No. 9 SEPTEMBER 1952

A. W. PUGIN'S CENTENARY

THE centenary of Augustus Welby Pugin's death at Ramsgate on 14 September 1852 calls for a tribute to his extremely important part in the Catholic revival. He was only forty when he died, and he had been a Catholic only since 1835. His conversion is often ascribed to his close friendship with the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, who was his principal patron since they first met in 1832. But when they first became acquainted, Lord Shrewsbury had not yet turned his thoughts to church building. Nor had Pugin even begun to think of becoming a Catholic. It was a mere accident that he had been associated in his early youth with the one leading Catholic layman in England who possessed the means, and became inspired with the determination, to restore proper dignity of ecclesiastical worship among the English Catholics. Lord Shrewsbury's status as the premier Earl of England, and his inheritance of the large estates and mansion at Alton Towers in Staffordshire, gave him a social influence and prestige which counted for much more than did the relatively small resources which he could devote to religious purposes. He had "discovered" Pugin while he was little more than a boy; and by employing Pugin as time went on, he encouraged others to employ him on much larger and more widely distributed enterprises.

But their first acquaintance in 1832 had arisen simply because Lord Shrewsbury was looking for furniture for Alton Towers, which he had inherited on the death of his uncle five years previously. The craze for adding gothic embellishment to great mansions was already in full swing. Lord Shrewsbury was shown some drawings at Hull's shop in Wardour Street, and was informed that they were the work of young Mr Pugin, who had already designed the gothic furniture for Windsor Castle. Pugin was at this time not yet twenty-one, but he was already a widower with a little daughter. His young wife had died in childbirth a few months before he met Lord Shrewsbury. He

was brought to Alton Towers to give advice, and was entrusted with the whole scheme of alterations and extensions. They were to include provision for a large private chapel but, apart from this, Lord Shrewsbury had no intention of building Catholic churches at that time; and the young architect was not a Catholic, and had apparently not shown any desire to leave the Church of England.

It was in Salisbury, when he had gone to live there after his second marriage in 1833, that Pugin decided to become a Catholic. His change of religion is usually ascribed to his passionate interest in gothic architecture, but in fact it involved not only professional sacrifices, but a sudden and complete separation from the atmosphere of the ancient churches which had appealed to him so strongly. He had gone to Salisbury so that he could live in close contact with one of the noblest of the old English cathedrals. For some three years he continued in these happy surroundings. But he became increasingly irritated by the neglect of ancient ritual, and by the lack of spiritual life, in the old churches which he studied so intently. His own account of his religious conversion makes the position clear. "I had a hard struggle," he wrote¹ some twenty years afterwards, "to convince myself that it was a duty to leave the spots I held sacred, and worship in a room inferior to many Wesleyan meeting houses, and with vestments and altar furniture that would hardly have been admitted among the properties of a travelling manager. I had seen little or nothing of the Catholic body in England. I once had a peep into Moorfields Chapel, and came out exceedingly distressed before the service, of which I had not a very clear idea, was concluded. Everything seemed strange and new; the singing, after the solemn chants of Westminster, sounded execrable, and I returned perplexed and disappointed."

The few Catholics in Salisbury in the early 1830s had only a small room, which could scarcely be described as a church, when Pugin became one of the little congregation. He was to discover soon that the conditions for Catholic worship were similar in most towns, even in the big cities where churches were gradually arising. Such as they were, the chapels were

¹ *Some Remarks*, p. 18.

usually hidden in obscure streets; and they made no attempt to provide dignified internal decorations or vestments. In retrospect at a later date, he told¹ his son-in-law, John Powell, of his early impressions after becoming a Catholic: "Going into Catholic chapels (there were no churches then) what did I see? The very tabernacle a Pagan Temple, the altar a deal sarcophagus, over which a colossal eye with rays looked down from a flat ceiling, artificial flowers under glass shades between the altar candlesticks, costly marble produced in cheap paper, brackets painted with sham windows supporting nothing, and vestments, who can describe? In the music gallery soprano and contralto soloists publicly emulating each other, lady vergers in feathers collecting the offertories. High Masses advertised as attractions. Even Bishop Milner's own chapel, he the Catholic pioneer of the revival, not exempt."

In the private chapels of the old Catholic mansions, the lack of dignity and of artistic sense distressed Pugin even more than the poverty of the recently opened chapels in the towns. When the quarterly *Dublin Review* was founded soon after he became a Catholic, Pugin contributed to it some scathing criticisms of the chapels and their owners. Even in London he found² that the recently built churches were "so ill-constructed as to arrangements as to expose the sacred mysteries to unnecessary interruptions and publicity; so meagre is their decoration that many Protestant churches are infinitely more elegant; and yet to these places, Sunday after Sunday, will Catholics of wealth, influence and station be driven in their carriages; and will appear, and continually are, perfectly satisfied with the building wherein they assemble to worship God, when the very entrance halls of their dwellings are more handsomely furnished and the side-boards of their dining-rooms are ten times more costly than the altar". He was still in his twenties, and his reputation was only beginning to grow, when he wrote these vehement complaints about the rich Catholics who must be his principal patrons as an ecclesiastical architect. He was still more indignant about the condition of their private chapels.

¹ Ward, *Sequel to Catholic Emancipation*, I, p. 101.

² *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 12.

Pugin certainly did not become a Catholic because he was attracted by the Catholic religious services as he found them. It was true nevertheless, as he admitted¹ frankly in reply to a critic in *The Times*, that "the study of ancient ecclesiastical architecture was the primary cause of the change in his sentiments, by inducing him to pursue a course of study terminating in his complete conversion". He explained that he had been biassed by his education against the Catholic Church. But after he had become a "student in ancient art", and had applied himself to liturgical knowledge, "what a new field was open to me! With what delight did I trace the fitness of each portion of those glorious edifices to the rites for whose celebration they had been erected! Then did I discover that the service I had been accustomed to attend and admire was but a cold and heartless remnant of past glories, and that those prayers which in my ignorance I had ascribed to reforming piety, were in reality only scraps plucked from the solemn and perfect offices of the ancient Church. Pursuing this my research among the faithful pages of the old chronicles, I discovered the tyranny, apostasy and bloodshed by which the new religion had been established, the endless strifes, dissensions and discord that existed among its propagators, and the devastation and ruin that attended its progress: opposed to all this, I considered the Catholic Church; existing with uninterrupted apostolic succession, handing down the same faith, sacraments and ceremonies unchanged, unaltered, through every clime, language and nation.

"For upwards of three years did I earnestly pursue the study of this all important subject; and the irresistible force of truth penetrating my heart, I gladly surrendered my own fallible judgement to the unerring decisions of the Church, and embracing with heart and soul its faith and discipline, became a humble, but I trust faithful member." "When I took this step," he wrote² years afterwards, "there was little human probability of effecting anything considerable. I was not personally acquainted with a single Catholic ecclesiastic, without influence, and with but slender means."

Moreover, he was fully aware that in becoming a Catholic he had gravely prejudiced his professional prospects. The

¹ Ferrey, *Recollections of A. N. Welby Pugin*, p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, p. 375.

question arose almost immediately when the designs for the new Houses of Parliament were under discussion. The Houses were burned down in 1834, while he was living at Salisbury, and in June 1835 the Select Committee announced its decision that the new buildings should be gothic, in keeping with Westminster Hall and St Stephen's Chapel which had escaped destruction. In the open competition among architects, a great number of designs were submitted. Pugin's biographer, Ferrey, knew him so well during his whole active life that his statement can scarcely be questioned. "No one doubted," says Ferrey,¹ "that Pugin would in any competition be at the head of the list." But Pugin had just decided to become a Catholic; and in his own words, "my chance for the Houses vanished and I made the best of the situation". He let it be known that he would not compete. He was just twenty-six, and he had children by both his marriages, and was in need of money. So he accepted the invitations of several of his friends to assist them. Gillespie Graham paid him three hundred guineas for his help with the plans that he submitted. Sir Charles Barry also enlisted his help, and eventually paid Pugin four hundred guineas as his fee for assisting in the designs which won the competition. Barry himself got more than twenty times that amount as the premium, without counting his subsequent fees.

He knew that he would be disqualified, as a Catholic, for winning any important public commissions, and he must rely upon smaller opportunities elsewhere. The prospect of receiving commissions to build Catholic churches was extremely remote, yet he never hesitated to incur hostility by his denunciation of bad taste and of positive neglect among the rich Catholics who alone might be his patrons. It was not Shrewsbury himself who conceived the idea of employing Pugin to build churches in the ancient pattern, to restore the glories of the Catholic Church. That inspiration came from Ambrose Phillipps, a young landowner in Leicestershire, who had become a Catholic while he was still a schoolboy in 1824. He was befriended by Lord Shrewsbury, when he was making Alton Towers the chief social centre for the Catholic gentry in the Midlands, and through Shrewsbury he made the acquaintance

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

of Pugin, while the reconstruction of Alton Towers was in progress. The two young converts to Romanism found that their chief interest in life was identical.

"There are no two men in England who ought to see and hear more of each other than you and me," Pugin wrote to him when they had got into their stride, and they had succeeded in firing Shrewsbury's imagination. Lord Shrewsbury was some twenty years older than they, and he had at first only been concerned with the restoration and development of his new home. But Phillipps had already determined upon a new enterprise on his own property which at first seemed quite fantastic. His father owned two large estates in Leicestershire and lived in great magnificence at Garendon Park. But he made over his other property, Grace Dieu, to Ambrose on his marriage. Ambrose intended to establish a large chapel there, to serve as a centre for Catholic revival in a district where the Catholic Church was entirely extinct. To assist that religious revival, he had decided to build, on his own property in Charnwood Forest, the first monastery to be erected in England since the reformation. Lord Shrewsbury was in advance of his time in desiring a more open Catholic apostolate. Most of his friends considered that religion ought to be treated as a private matter, and that there was no sense in arousing Protestant opposition by trying to make converts. But Phillipps really desired to make converts on the widest scale, and he genuinely believed that England would before long be brought back to the Catholic allegiance. It seemed an unlikely contribution towards that end, when he decided to establish a Trappist monastery of contemplative monks.

Lord Shrewsbury urged him earnestly to devote his resources to some more practical plan, which would provide for schools and pastoral work. But Phillipps insisted that his first venture must be the new monastery. He soon brought a small group of Trappists from France, who were to live in the most austere way, as best they could, until the monastery was built. Pugin was delighted with the proposal. He not only designed the monastery, but offered all his professional services without charge. Shrewsbury remained sceptical, but he was so much impressed by the zeal of his young friends that he gave a dona-

tion of £3000 towards the cost. Phillipps wrote¹ enthusiastically to inform his father of the gift, and he added that "Pugin gives all his time, drawings, etc., gratis, and charges no percentage on the outlay; he says that with these materials so close at hand he shall be able to astonish everyone with what he will build for the money. The monks will do all the carriage of materials themselves, and a part of the carpenters' work, all the plane work". It had been a revelation to Lord Shrewsbury of how much could be done, with even the limited resources that these young men would command. He had inherited great wealth, but he was burdened with enormous expenses for the upkeep of Alton Towers, which he had himself greatly expanded and enlarged. But his unsuccessful efforts to persuade Phillipps to do something more sensible and practical than found a Trappist monastery had made him realize that he was himself in a position to do what he had asked of them.

By this time young Pugin's professional reputation was growing rapidly. He had published his *Contrasts* in 1836, and he soon followed it with the still more provocative *Apology for the Contrasts*, which proclaimed his passionate devotion to the Catholic revival. He began it with three primary assertions:

1. That everything grand, edifying and noble in art is the result of feelings produced by the Catholic religion in the human mind.
2. That destruction of art, irreverence towards religion, contempt of ecclesiastical persons and authority, and a complete loss of all the nobler perceptions of mankind, have been the result of Protestantism, wherever it has been established.
3. That the degraded state of the arts in this country is purely owing to the absence of Catholic feeling among its professors, the loss of ecclesiastical patronage, and the apathy with which a Protestant nation must necessarily treat the higher branches of art."

Inflammatory statements in this style were by no means welcome to most of the older Catholics. They considered that good relations with their neighbours was a first condition of security for the Catholic remnant in England. But Shrewsbury

¹ Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, I, p. 77.

was swept along by the impetuosity of his young friends. He committed himself at first to no more than the establishment on his own estates of a practical and philanthropic project which would continue the old Catholic traditions. He was proud of having "discovered" Pugin, and he could give the young man commissions which aroused all his enthusiasm as a religious revivalist. He had urged Phillipps to found a school and almshouses on the mediaeval pattern instead of introducing French Trappists in Charnwood Forest; and now he proposed himself to establish something of the kind at the gates of Alton Towers. He instructed Pugin to erect in the village of Alton a new Hospital of St John. It was to include a school for "an unlimited number of poor scholars", with a schoolmaster and a warden and confrater, "both in priests' orders", besides six "chaplains or decayed priests", a sacrist and "twelve poor brethren". There would, of course, be a chapel also. It was the perfect opportunity for Pugin to revive the old mediaeval atmosphere, on the estates of a rich and pious nobleman. By the end of 1840 the buildings at Alton were nearly complete, as well as the fine private chapel in Alton Towers. Work on the monastery at Charnwood was also progressing vigorously. But by this time Pugin had been entrusted with much more ambitious commissions, in which Lord Shrewsbury was only one of many subscribers. His wider employment on Catholic buildings had been strongly encouraged by his appointment, through Shrewsbury's intervention, as professor of Fine Art at the seminary of Oscott, which was then being rebuilt and greatly enlarged.

Bishop Milner, as Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, had carried out many vigorous developments during the years of industrial expansion before his death in 1826. He had been succeeded by Bishop Walsh, who for years previously had been president of Oscott. In memory of Milner the new Bishop had undertaken to reconstruct and enlarge the seminary; and work had already begun when Pugin was introduced by Lord Shrewsbury. He soon insisted upon making alterations in the plans for rebuilding, and was placed in charge of their completion. But a more important project was already in preparation. The rapid growth of Birmingham had made it necessary

to provide a large new Catholic church; and there were prosperous Catholics in the city and in the surrounding district. The earlier plans for a new church had fallen through because of local dissensions, and they were now abandoned for the ambitious project of erecting in Birmingham the first Catholic cathedral to be built since the Reformation. The principal donors in fact were the Hardman family, who had a flourishing business as church furnishers and decorators. They knew Pugin well; they shared his enthusiasm for the gothic revival; and they were in close touch with Lord Shrewsbury. Pugin was entrusted with the preparation of designs. Shrewsbury himself gave £1000, and added other important donations, including the great window and many other ornaments, as well as vestments. A large legacy to Bishop Walsh in 1830 became the basis of the fund, and work proceeded quickly thereafter. In June 1841 the new St Chad's Cathedral was solemnly opened with full ceremonial, on a scale which had not been witnessed in England for centuries.

But before the opening of St Chad's Cathedral, Pugin's restless activities in association with Ambrose Phillipps had produced a series of acute controversies. Lord Shrewsbury had thrown his enthusiasm into their campaign for the revival of mediaeval architecture and church vestments. He confined his personal exertions to his own neighbourhood in Staffordshire. Having provided the new chapel in Alton Towers and the Hospital of St John in the village of Alton, he proceeded to build a small parish church at Uttoxeter close to his estates. It was a larger place than Alton, and it would give Pugin more scope for showing what a Catholic parish church could be. Uttoxeter provided him with his first chance. In the *Orthodox Journal* for June 1839 he explained that his new church "may be truly described as the first Catholic structure to be erected in this country in accordance with the rules of ancient ecclesiastical architecture since the days of the pretended Reformation. The style is that of the early part of the thirteenth century: lancet arches, without tracery. Over the entrance doorway is a circular window, divided into twelve compartments with a sexfoil in the centre, filled with richly stained glass. At the summit of the western gable is a belfry for two bells, surmounted by an

iron trefoil-ended cross". He explained that Lord Shrewsbury, as its donor, had desired to show how "a Catholic church, complete in every respect, might be erected for a very moderate sum".

The interior similarly followed the old tradition. The roof, instead of being plastered and flat, was "open to the church inside and stained to imitate old chestnut". At the east end there were "three high lancet windows, filled with mosaic stained glass, of intricate patterns". The altar was to be entirely of stone, divided in front into three deeply moulded quatrefoils, part of it painted and gilt. Behind the altar was a back fifteen feet high, "carved in wood and richly painted and gilt, with large folding doors to close up the imagery in the middle during Lent". Three gilt lamps were hung in front of the altar, and on the upper step of the sanctuary were two large candlesticks, with high candles which were to be "lit from the Sanctus to the Communion". On each side of the altar were two "rich damask curtains hung on rods projecting from the wall".

All these details were entirely unfamiliar to Catholic churches and chapels at that time. But Pugin made a much greater innovation at Uttoxeter, which he intended to be a complete pattern of what parish village churches should be like. He had no tabernacle; so that "the altar is left entirely free for sacrifice". Instead, "the Blessed Sacrament, according to an ancient and formerly general practice, will be suspended over the altar in a pyx, inclosed within a silver dove, surrounded by rays of glory; in the niches on each side are two angels depicted, bearing a scroll with the scripture *Ecce Panis Angelorum*". This was the most startling of his innovations, and it soon produced indignant protests when he attempted to follow it elsewhere. But there were other strange features also. The stone baptismal font, "small but richly carved", was placed in the middle of the church, raised on steps. There were no seats for the priests in the sanctuary, but "stone niches in the wall, termed *Sedilia*". And on the gospel side the wall contained an "arch and tomb to be used for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament on Maundy Thursday". In so small a church there was not room for a rood screen; but he included "immediately over the chancel steps an arch of timber, supporting a rood or cruci-

fixion, with angels bearing tapers, lighted during mass on great feast days; and the carving of the rood richly painted and gilt". In addition to all these unfamiliar changes, Pugin had insisted that the church vestments must all be of the gothic pattern, "in strict accordance with the style of the building; ample chasubles of graceful folds, with appropriate embroidery; apparelled albs and amices, narrow stoles and maniples, old English surplices, and in fine all that can contribute to the solemnity and dignity of our ancient and holy religion".

Reports of these innovations at Uttoxeter had produced much adverse criticism. Before long, complaints were made to Rome that Pugin and Phillipps, as two young converts, were attempting to impose their own novel and unwelcome ideas on Catholic churches. By the end of 1839 these formal complaints had reached Rome, and Bishop Walsh in Birmingham had been informed that he should act more prudently. The letter from Propaganda had referred to Pugin directly as "an architect recently converted from heresy". Pugin was only twenty-nine, but he wrote anguished protests as though his life's work had been already destroyed. But at least he and Phillipps and Lord Shrewsbury had Bishop Walsh on their side; and they were working chiefly in his District. Pugin had been placed in charge of the new buildings at Oscott, and of the plans for the new cathedral in Birmingham. And they had great hopes of obtaining increased support from the prospect of Mgr Wiseman's arrival in Birmingham as coadjutor to Bishop Walsh. He was consecrated bishop in Rome during the early summer of 1840, and he reached Oscott in the autumn. He had founded the quarterly *Dublin Review* five years previously, and he was keenly interested in the growth of the Tractarian movement at Oxford. Phillipps, as a young convert from High Anglicanism, was strongly sympathetic towards these evidences of attraction towards Rome, and he had gained the sympathy of Lord Shrewsbury. Pugin was all the more interested in the Tractarians because a number of them had shown a practical interest in the revival of mediaeval art. Some of them had invited him to assist in restoring the old churches which were in their charge. Both he and Phillipps believed that, when Wiseman reached England as a bishop who would also be rector of Oscott, he would give

definite encouragement to the Tractarians, whose acquaintance they were already cultivating.

Their chief opponent was Bishop Baines of the Western District. He had been at one time the most energetic and distinguished figure among the English bishops. But he became involved in such acrimonious controversies that Rome lost confidence in his judgement. He became the most outspoken opponent of the return to the middle ages which Phillipps and Pugin were advocating. When he heard of the innovations at Uttoxeter and was invited to attend the opening ceremonies, he inquired whether the gothic vestments of which he disapproved strongly would be worn, and refused to come when he was told that they would be used. Soon afterwards he was in Rome and there asked for a definite ruling on the introduction of a different style of vestments. While preparations were being made for the opening of St Chad's Cathedral in 1841, he again intervened actively.

But the opposition to their programme did not come only from Bishop Baines, and from the comfortable conservative families who desired to continue in the old way, with religion as a private possession in their own small circle. Baines had been a daring innovator himself, when he had bought Prior Park in 1830 and converted it into a magnificent school and episcopal residence, whereas his predecessors had unobtrusively lived in a small house at Bath. But he had made no attempt to alter the pagan character of that vast mansion which Ralph Allen had built for himself. Bishop Baines had spent a considerable time in Rome; and he enjoyed living in the grand manner. In that he differed from most of the older clergy in the Midlands and the North. They were addicted to quiet ways and were opposed to almost any form of change. Dr Bowdon, the president of Sedgley Park in Warwickshire, was a typical figure among them. He thought Bishop Walsh had lost his head absurdly in giving so much encouragement to Pugin's gothic ideas. "The episcopal palace," he wrote,¹ "is the most gloomy place I ever saw", and at Oscott he thought that "the Bishop's and the Doctor's rooms are more like State apartments. It is not nearly so pleasant as Sedgley Park." He had decided

¹ Buscot, *History of Cotton College*, p. 154.

definitely that "I do not like St Chad's or any of Pugin's work". Dr Bowdon would have admitted himself to be a philistine in artistic matters. But the great historian Lingard, in his village presbytery at Hornby near Lancaster, might be expected to sympathize with any revival of pre-Reformation practices. Even Lingard, however, had no sympathy with what Pugin and Philipps were attempting. Lingard had an instinctive horror of introducing changes into Catholic worship as it had been practised during recent centuries. Rood screens particularly irritated him; although Pugin had convinced himself that they were indispensable for devout worship, as a solemn mark of the separation between the public and the holy sacrifice.

On that point Lingard held strongly opposite views. When Pugin's designs for the proposed reconstruction of the chapel at Ushaw College were shown to Lingard, he wrote¹ at once in dismay: "It is in my opinion most frightful—and the four candles most ridiculous—and the rood and images above most unsightly. Do, I beg of you, sweep all away. Why must we put up roods, when for two hundred years they have been swept away in every country in Europe?" He wrote again soon afterwards, demanding why should the people be thus excluded from a full sight of the altar? And in another letter² Lingard writes to the same correspondent: "Do not adopt all the whims of Pugin. Why because, when windows were not glazed, it was necessary to have curtains on each side of the altar, have them now? Why because, when men got up at midnight to say matins in the depth of winter, they therefore enclosed themselves as snugly as they could in the choir, have such a choir now walled round, and shut out by a screen from the public view."

Lingard's protests had not yet become known when Pugin was completing his work at St Chad's before its opening in 1841. On the contrary, Pugin and his friends had powerful support from the learned Dr Rock, who had accepted Lord Shrewsbury's invitation to live at Alton Towers as his personal chaplain there. In Birmingham they were in a very strong position. Bishop Walsh had been captivated by Pugin's zeal and pious energy. He had given him a free hand with Oscott,

¹ Haile and Bonney, *Life and Letters of John Lingard*, p. 301.

² *Ibid.*, p. 302.

and also with the new cathedral in Birmingham, where the Bishop would soon take up his official residence. And both Lord Shrewsbury and Mr Hardman in Birmingham were among the principal subscribers to the funds for building the new cathedral. They had counted upon a further reinforcement when Bishop Wiseman arrived at Oscott in the autumn of 1840 as its new rector. Wiseman's keen sympathy with the Tractarian movement made a special bond between him and Ambrose Phillipps. They had not realized that Wiseman had his own views about religious art and music, and that his tastes were thoroughly Roman. He had become a close friend of Lord Shrewsbury, and especially of Ambrose Phillipps, and he had been giving them every encouragement. But after he came to Oscott, he soon found that he was himself suspect among the older English clergy. He had arrived full of enthusiasm at the prospect of the new cathedral being opened in Birmingham. But he had not realized that Pugin's plans had aroused widespread opposition. The great rood screen met with general disapproval and Wiseman boldly proposed that it should be omitted. Pugin immediately threatened to resign as architect, and Wiseman had to give way under pressure from Shrewsbury and Hardman. But they never felt confidence in Wiseman as an ally thereafter.

Vestments and church music aroused Pugin's anger or enthusiasm as excitedly as did questions of architecture or decoration. In deference to the first remonstrance from Rome, Bishop Walsh prohibited the use of the new vestments which had been given by Lord Shrewsbury and others. In their private chapels at Alton Towers or at Grace Dieu Lord Shrewsbury and Phillipps could still do pretty well as they pleased. But Bishop Baines had refused to attend the opening of Uttoxeter church when he was informed that the old wide vestments were to be used there; and he demanded similar assurances before the opening of St Chad's cathedral. When Pugin's large new church at Derby was opened in 1838, Shrewsbury and Pugin and Phillipps had come as a party, accompanied by some of their Tractarian friends, and they counted on seeing Bishop Walsh officiate in the magnificent cloth of gold vestments which Shrewsbury had presented for special occasions.

The remonstrance from Rome had not come at that time, but trouble arose over the music. Bishop Walsh had found it impossible to disappoint his eager congregation in Derby by refusing the services of the local choir. Pugin and Phillipps had told their friends that for the first time High Mass would be "sung to Gregorian chant by a surpliced choir". They were horrified to see¹ "a full orchestra in possession and a large choir including females, in accordance with the custom of the day". The Bishop was already vested in the cloth of gold vestments when Pugin and Shrewsbury went in to protest. They insisted indignantly that, if there were to be "lady sopranos and fiddlers", the new vestments must not be used. For once the Bishop defied them, and exchanged his grand vestments for "a dingy set of the French pattern". Shrewsbury and his friends thereupon drove away without waiting to attend the ceremony.

Both Pugin and Phillipps attached supreme importance to church music, and they were determined to banish women from the choirs. "As you say, till the old Gregorian music is restored," Pugin wrote² to Phillipps at a later stage, "nothing can be done, but now I almost despair—I do indeed. I built a solemn church at Southport. It was opened with a perfectly disgusting display. . . . Keighley was opened the other day with a most horrible scene. Not only was all decorum violated, but a regular row took place between the musicians who quarrelled about their part in the church, and after an hour's delay, one priest drew off his singers and a Miss Whitwell—whose name appeared in the bills in gigantic letters—quavered away in a most extraordinary style. There was no procession. Every building I erect is profaned, and instead of assisting in conversions, only serves to disgust people."

Nevertheless Pugin's influence was producing results all over England. The erection of St Chad's cathedral in Birmingham soon led to the decision to build a similar Catholic cathedral in Southwark. The number of his churches was astonishing, and they were of all sizes. He prided himself especially on building at less expense than other architects, as a result of applying the true gothic principles. He used to refer to the little parish church at Shepshed, close to Phillipps's place at Grace Dieu, as his

¹ Ward, *op. cit.*, I, p. 116.

² Purcell, *op. cit.*, II, p. 289.

"miracle" because it cost only £700. It was a stone building, with a nave and two aisles, three altars, three screens, three stained glass windows, and also a crypt. While he could do so much with such limited resources, it was not surprising that church builders turned to him. And the social influence of Lord Shrewsbury, besides his practical generosity, counted immensely in encouraging others to follow his example as a patron of good taste. The Tractarians also had begun to employ him in restoration work on old churches. He became a well-known figure in Oxford, where his explosive conversation was a constant delight. Bloxam of Magdalen had been the confidential intermediary between Phillipps and the Tractarians, and Bloxam was their principal expert on liturgy. But the "Oxford men", when they eventually became Catholics, were to disappoint both Pugin and Phillipps even more than Bishop Wiseman had done. Wiseman's personal tastes were flamboyant and continental, and he could never have been regarded as "a rood screen man". But no one had anticipated that when Newman surrendered to Rome in 1843 after his years of seclusion outside Oxford, he would become an exponent of continental Catholicism in England. Newman was still in Rome preparing for ordination when Pugin himself undertook his famous visit to Italy, as an escape from over-work which had brought him near to a collapse. Pugin arrived in Rome in May 1847 and he was prepared for painful surprises. It is unlikely that he concealed his opinions while he was in Rome, but he was given every encouragement there. The Pope received him in a special private audience, and presented him with a gold medal as a personal tribute, which "gratified him more than any other event in his life".

But soon after he came back to England he found that Newman and his friends at the Oratory were committing themselves to the traditions which he had found so abominable in Rome. Wiseman's personal tastes were entirely Roman, and he was delighted by the prospect of building churches in the Roman style. By the early summer of 1848, when Newman had returned from Italy, and was preparing to move from Maryvale to Birmingham, Ambrose Phillipps had been appalled by this new prospect. But the vehemence of Pugin and Phillipps

had provoked a positive reaction; and the first phase of enthusiasm for gothic ideas was dying down. Lord Shrewsbury was growing elderly, and he had been spending most of his time in Italy since his two daughters had married there. He found life more agreeable there, and it saved the enormous expense of keeping up Alton Towers as a private residence. Bishop Walsh, who had been almost alone in giving a free hand to the mediaevalists—though it was less from personal conviction than from the desire to encourage such zeal among his lay benefactors—had grown old and infirm. In 1847 he was prevailed upon to accept transference to the vacant London District from the Midlands, where he had spent his life. He brought Wiseman with him to London as his coadjutor.

But Pugin had made a prodigious contribution to church building in England within little more than fifteen years between the time when he became a Catholic and his final breakdown in 1851. Southwark Cathedral had been solemnly opened in 1848; and by that time he had already built, besides St Chad's, the large new churches in Nottingham and Newcastle, which bishops were to use as their cathedrals when the new hierarchy was established in 1850. In Ireland he had designed the cathedrals at Killarney and Enniscorthy, and the new buildings at Maynooth. He had built churches of all sizes in more than twenty counties of England. There were five in Warwickshire alone and six in Staffordshire, and Ireland had six also in County Wexford. Besides his many churches in England, he had designed colleges and convents and religious houses of various kinds. Above all he had introduced a new standard of dignity and devotional purpose. His whole life's work had been inspired by his religious faith; and in his private life he had surrounded himself with a religious atmosphere. When he first became a Catholic at Salisbury in his early twenties, he had built himself a fantastic mediaeval house which he called St Marie's Grange. When his work increased, he could no longer live at Salisbury, and for some years he had lived in London overlooking the Thames at Cheyne Walk.

But his final home was at Ramsgate, where he built himself another massive house above the cliffs, which he called The Grange. At his own expense he built a handsome church beside

it, which remains as his most personal monument. But the house itself had its own private chapel, as at Salisbury. There he spent the last sad months of his life after his breakdown, and there he died surrounded by spiritual consolations. He was buried at the church which he had built beside The Grange, which he gave to the diocese of Southwark. Bishop Grant preached the panegyric at his funeral and subsequently handed over the church to the Benedictines. They formed there the community which in 1896 was constituted as the Abbey of St Augustine.

Among the many churches in England that remain as a monument to Pugin's genius is the Chapel of St Edmund's College, Old Hall. He did not live to see it completed, though the designs of it were begun in 1842. In November of that year he visited the College and subsequently, in answer to an address from the students, he wrote a letter which reveals the spirit that animated his work:¹

You may be assured, my dear friends, that it is the bounden duty of all Catholics throughout the world, but especially in our native land, to forward with all possible energy the restoration of Christian architecture. It is not a mere question of taste, or of abstract beauty and proportion, but it has far higher claims on our veneration as the symbolism of the antient faith. Viewed in this, its true light, ecclesiastical architecture cannot fail to receive from those who are destined to the sacred function of the priesthood that consideration which it deserves. . . .

Architectural fame belongs rather to the Colosseum than the Cathedral. It would be a fearful and presumptuous attempt in any man to exalt himself by means of the temples of God. It is a privilege and a blessing to work in the sanctuary. The majesty of the vast churches of antiquity is owing to the sublime mysteries of the Christian faith and the solemnity of its rites. The antient builders felt this. They knew the small share they could claim in the glories they produced, and their humility exceeded their skill. How unbecoming then would it be for any man at the present time to exult where works are after all but faint copies of antient excellence. God has certainly permitted me to become an instrument in drawing attention to long-forgotten principles, but the merit of these belongs to older and better days. I still

¹ Ward, *History of St Edmund's College*, pp. 250-1.

enter even the humblest erections of Catholic antiquity as a disciple to the school of his master, and for all that is produced, we must cry in most bounden duty, "Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam."

DENIS GWYNN

THEOLOGICIANS AND THE HUMAN APPEARANCE OF CHRIST

THERE is no reliable historical evidence about the physical appearance of Christ: not only no evidence about details, but not even any direct evidence whether His physical appearance was gracious and noble, or the contrary. There remain, as means of helping our judgement upon the matter, deduction from the Gospels, reasonings from theological principles, considerations of suitability, and, possibly, the instinctive opinion of the faithful. The mediaeval theologians discussed the matter very cursorily, although St Thomas does lay down a fundamental principle on the matter, as will appear.

In 1564 Michael Medina, S.J., caused a mild flutter in theological dovecotes by denying roundly that Christ was the most handsome of mortals, and rejecting some of the reasons alleged in favour of that idea. Suarez, *d.* 1617, remarked that the view of Medina was "without reason and rash", a somewhat severe censure upon a fellow-theologian; Vasquez, *d.* 1604, de Valentia, *d.* 1603, de Arriaga, *d.* 1667, and Raynaud, *d.* 1663, all mention Medina's opinion and reject it, although the last two do not think it "rash". Bartholomew Medina, O.P., *d.* 1590, Nicholas Ysambert, the famous theologian of the Sorbonne, *d.* 1639, and John of the Annunciation, *d.* 1688, author of the volume on the Incarnation for the Salamanca Carmelites, the "Salmanticenses", all express their judgement that Christ was of noble physique. Petavius, *d.* 1649, seems to share their view.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, however, three respectable French theologians seemed very concerned to deny that Christ was "pulcher", or comely, in appearance; among

them were the Abbé Nicholas Rigault, *d.* 1654, who wrote copious notes on Tertullian and St Cyprian; the Jesuit Francis Vavasour, who, in 1649, wrote a booklet, in somewhat stilted Latin, *De Forma Christi*; and the Oratorian Louis Thomassin, *d.* 1695, who in his admirable *De Incarnatione* discussed the question at considerable length. They seem greatly impressed by what was said by the Fathers and ancient writers like Tertullian, and to have been unduly concerned to dissociate Christ from anything approaching an effeminate beauty, or merely worldly attractiveness, or the physique of a Greek athlete. They suggest that Christ was unprepossessing in appearance, and that this was meant to teach us to despise mere physical graces and attend only to spiritual. The famous commentator on Scripture, Cornelius a Lapide (van Steen), *d.* 1637, seems to have shared this outlook, judging by his comments upon Isaiah liii, 2.

In the eighteenth century Dom Augustin Calmet, writing in 1720, remarks that this view was unpopular:

"There are few Christians who do not rush to defend the comeliness of their Saviour, and who are not indignant when they hear it doubted or denied. All pulpits resound with praises of the God-man, most beautiful among the sons of men. Prayer-books and books of devotion are full of it. All the same, it must be admitted that the reasons making against any handsomeness in our Saviour are at least as strong as those in its favour." He ends his discussion by trying to compromise: "One must take a middle course, and say that Jesus Christ was not remarkable either for beauty or the contrary. He appeared among men as just another man, not taller, not shorter, not better made, nor worse made, than ordinary. He apparently had the tanned olive complexion of the Jews of Palestine. He might have had, as Fr Vavasour suggests, something of the rustic or soldierly bearing of the Galileans. He was not much taller than ordinary, for if He had been, Zacchaeus need not have climbed the sycamore to see Him. The descriptions given by Nicephorus and others carry no conviction. . . . We must conclude, then, that Christ was neither handsome nor ugly in any way that made Him at all noticeable."¹

¹ *Dissertations qui peuvent servir de Prolégomènes de l'Ecriture Sainte*, Paris, 1720, p. 434 ff.

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In the same century, the famous Dominican Billuart, *d.* 1746, rather deprecated enhancement of Christ's physical beauty, judging Him to have been "mediocriter pulcher"; but Legrand, *d.* 1780, who enjoyed a great name in Paris, definitely held that He was gracious and noble. In the following centuries, up to our own day, I have not found a single theologian who does not approve the judgement that Christ was noble and gracious in appearance, although, naturally, writers vary somewhat in their emphasis.¹ Pohle sums up the general view: "It is safe to assume that the Son of God, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, was beautiful in form and figure, of majestic mien and sympathetic presence."²

Two theologians give conspicuously longer and more detailed treatment, the Jesuit Ferdinand Stentrup, who taught for so long at Innsbruck and published his *De Verbo Incarnato* in 1882, and the Benedictine Laurence Janssens, who published his *Tractatus de Deo-homine* in 1901; both agree with the judgement expressed by Pohle.

For non-Catholics, Percy Dearmer may speak as representative: "We may conclude that the instinct of the Church as a whole was right in attributing beauty to the Son of Man, since the Incarnation was the taking on of the perfection and fulness of humanity. At the time of the controversy (presumably some time before the eighth century?), those on the extreme ascetic side went so far as to make hideous pictures of the Redeemer; but the idealism of early art had an easy triumph in the end, because Christ is indeed the Ideal of humanity, and the outward form of man is ultimately the expression of the soul within."³

The authorities thus indicated, let us turn to the arguments adduced.

Deductions from the Gospels. It must be confessed that the divinity of Christ and His Messiahship, His miracles, His teach-

¹ Cf. Muncunill, Tanqueray, Pesch, Hugon, Pohle, Terrien, Lépiciér, Labauche, Van Noort, Galtier, Boyer, Solano, in their books on the Incarnation. Oddly Perrone, Franzelin, Lercher, Billot, the Wirceburgenses (Holtzclau), like Lessius, John of St Thomas, Gonet and Lugo in earlier times, do not seem to touch on the question. Many who treat the question depend a good deal upon Suarez, who shows himself at his best in that section, *Disp.* 32, sect. 2, n. 3.

² *Christology*, London, 1925, adapted and edited by Arthur Preuss, p. 71.

³ *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, ed. Hastings, Vol. I, p. 316, in the article "Christ in Art". The reasons assigned by Dearmer are not absolutely unassailable, as we shall see.

ing, His moral character, and His redemptive work overshadow all else in the Gospels. Nevertheless, some deductions about His physical being have been made. The text of St Luke: "And Jesus advanced in wisdom and age and grace with God and men,"¹ has been taken to suggest that He was gracious also physically; but the weight of exegetes, from the Fathers onwards, makes against this interpretation, since they take both the wisdom and the grace as meaning interior gifts outwardly manifested. Nevertheless, the text does indicate that Christ was acceptable to men, and there seems no reason to restrict this acceptability *merely* to qualities of knowledge, good conduct and holiness.² The expression used by St Luke is very like that used of Samuel: "But the child Samuel advanced, and grew on, and pleased both the Lord and men."³ The clear suggestion is that Samuel was satisfactory physically as well as in other ways; and the same could, I think, be rightly deduced about our Lord from St Luke, although not very much more.

Another text invoked is John i, 14: "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we saw his glory . . ." This glory, it is argued, applies to the Word as made flesh, and hence to Christ the man; whence it may be concluded that as man He was glorious, or at least comely, in visible aspect. Now, in strict exegesis, prescindng from applied meanings, the use of the word "glory" (δόξα) does not appear to justify this meaning; rather, it is used as indicating some special manifestation of the eternal brightness breaking through the normal condition of things. It is used often of His miracles, as proofs of His divine power and glory: "this beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee: and manifested his glory, and his disciples believed in him."⁴ "This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God: that the Son of God may be glorified by it. . . . Did I not say to thee, that if thou believe, thou shalt see the glory of God?"⁵ And then He raised Lazarus from the dead. St John does not seem to use the word "glory" of Christ

¹ Ch. ii, 52.

² Cf. Plummer on St Luke; Knabenbauer, Petavius, *De Incarnatione*, lib. 11, cap. 2, who cites the Fathers at length, and Stenstrup, *op. cit.* p. 1140 ff., who disagrees with Petavius. I could not find a single exegete who interpreted the text as referring the words to Christ's physical being, save that He increased in age or stature.

³ I Kings ii, 26.

⁴ John ii, 11.

⁵ John xi, 4 and 40.

in His normal human life or deeds, but only as transfigured, as working miracles or as resurrected: "as yet the Spirit was not given, because Jesus was not yet glorified."¹ "Glory" in St John seems to mean something which bears witness that He is of God, not something which is in an ordinary human way praiseworthy.² When Christ says: "I receive not glory [honour] from men," John v, 41, He means, not that men do not pay Him due consideration and honour, but that confirmation of His claims does not come from any human approval, but from God. Hence, when St John says "we saw His glory, the glory of the only begotten of the Father", it is much more probable that he is thinking of the glory of the Transfiguration and of the risen Christ, than of any merely human quality worthy of admiration. However, once grant, on other grounds, that Christ was of noble appearance, and doubtless the text would include that also; but merely on its own merits, it would seem hazardous to take it as including physical nobility or glory.

But, on the Gospel evidence, it is clear that Christ attracted children, that many conceived a deep human affection for Him, that He talked at length to crowds without wearying them: things which suggest a certain attractiveness, even on the human level. Against this, Vavasour and Thomassin urge that the main and overshadowing interest was His miracles, His teaching, and His moral character; and that at Nazareth they thought of Him merely as "the carpenter",³ and wondered at the words of grace which He spoke, and said "Is not this the son of Joseph?"⁴ which seems to indicate that there had been nothing particularly remarkable about Him. However, this argument of Vavasour and Thomassin is not quite conclusive, since it was the wisdom of His teaching and the healings He worked which seem to have occasioned discussion; and even had He been handsome above the average, but had led an ordinary life, the objections might well have been urged.

One thing appears a legitimate deduction from the Gospels, and this is that He must have had fairly robust health. He walked considerable distances, and was sometimes weary from

¹ John vii, 39.

² Cf. John v, 41, 44; vii, 18; viii, 50, 54; ix, 24; xi, 40; xii, 43; xiii, 31, 32; xiv, 13; xv, 8; xvi, 14; xvii, 15.

³ Mark vi, 3.

⁴ Luke iv, 22.

the journey;¹ He endured at least one long fast,² and meals during His missionary journeys appear to have been somewhat irregular. The Apostles were once so hungry that they plucked the ears of corn to eat;³ on another occasion we are told that "there were many coming and going and they had scarcely time to eat".⁴ Before the feeding both of the five thousand and of the four thousand, obviously no provision had been made for meals;⁵ on the road to Caesarea Philippi the Apostles forgot to buy bread to take with them,⁶ and at Sichar, the Apostles left Him at the well while they went into the city to buy food.⁷ Indeed, the Apostles' commissariat does not seem to have been particularly efficient, which perhaps was the reason why the holy women "ministered to them with the means they had",⁸ although it may be that the holy women merely relieved their poverty.

It would appear, also, that not seldom Christ and the Apostles slept out of doors; this is suggested by the Son of Man having nowhere to lay His head,⁹ and by the remark of St Luke that "at night He abode in the mount that is called Olivet".¹⁰ Such a life, even though the climate of Palestine is not as severe as that of more northern countries, indicates a fairly strong, if not rugged, state of health. The winters can be cold in Palestine; and the change of temperature between Jericho and Jerusalem is considerable. During Christ's trial, Peter was warming himself, a clear indication that the climate had its difficulties.

It is true that Pilate was surprised that Christ "should be already dead",¹¹ and even sent for the centurion to verify the fact; which might, perhaps, be taken as indicative of less rugged health than that of the robbers crucified with Him. Account, however, must be taken of the undoubtedly great mental strain, manifested in the Agony in the Garden; of the scourging and of the maltreatment by the soldiers, all of which must have weakened the physical frame, lowered resistance and increased the shock. Hence, that Christ died more quickly than

¹ John iv, 6; and cf. Mark i, 37, etc.

² Matt. xii, 1; Mark ii, 24.

³ Mark vi, 38; viii, 5, etc.

⁴ Matt. xvi, 5, 7.

⁵ Luke viii, 2, 3; Mark xv, 41.

⁶ Luke xxi, 37; and cf. Luke xxii, 39; John xviii, 2.

⁷ Luke iv, 2, etc.

⁸ Mark vi, 31.

⁹ John iv, 8, 31, 33.

¹⁰ Matt. viii, 20.

¹¹ Mark xv, 44, 45.

the robbers does not seem to cast doubt upon the conclusion, gathered from indications in the Gospels, that He was at least of normal health and strength.

The purely Scripture evidence, then, seems to leave the question of Christ's physical appearance rather widely open, in the sense that Christ does not appear to have been conspicuous, physically, in any way that caused remark.

Theological Reasonings. There are, however, some theological principles involved. Now, admittedly the *a priori* argument is perilous, and easily stretched to excess. An instance occurs in this very matter. Some theologians argue that things made by God's direct intervention are better than things made by nature; the wine miraculously made by Christ from water was superior to ordinary wine, and the bread miraculously multiplied was better, and the sight miraculously restored was clearer. So, Stentrup argues, basing himself upon a remark of St John Chrysostom about the miracle of the change of water into wine at Cana.¹ Now, since Christ was miraculously begotten of the Holy Ghost, His body must have been finer and better than ordinary bodies. The argument, however, seems dubious; is there any evidence that the bread multiplied, and the sight restored, were better than ordinary? Was Lazarus, for instance, stronger and healthier after his resurrection than before? Further, the argument, taken strictly, leaves out of account a very pertinent consideration, namely the purpose of God's action, which, even granted the general principle that things done immediately by God are better than ordinary, might gravely modify its application. The purpose of the Incarnation might, conceivably, demand that Christ's body should be very ordinary, or even less well formed than is normal; and the argument takes no account of this possibility.

But there is a reasoning far sounder than this, given, as usual, by St Thomas Aquinas. Faith teaches that God was truly made man; and was, in His manhood, "in all things like unto us, sin excepted".² It follows from this that in becoming man, God took to Himself all the deficiencies which are the

¹ *Praelectiones de Verbo Incarnato*, p. 962, Oeniponte, 1882; Chrysostom's remark is in his homily on John, ch. 2, hom. 21.

² Heb. ii, 17.

common lot of men, such as hunger, thirst, liability to fatigue, to pain, physical and mental, and, obviously, liability to death.¹ But the assumption of a real human nature does not demand the incidence of any particular deficiency, such as epilepsy, club-foot, hair-lip, squint, or bodily defect of a similar kind. The cause of this latter type of defect is not human nature as such, but some flaw derived from birth, or from personal accident or intemperance; in the case of Christ, since His conception and birth were from the Holy Ghost, there could be no flaw there; and since a special Wisdom governed His life both interiorly and exteriorly, there could be no personal intemperance or accident.² This argument of St Thomas is generally accepted by theologians; and the Salmanticenses cite with approval Cajetan, Bartholomew Medina, and Suarez, who judge it theologically rash to affirm that Christ had any such particular defect. In recent times Stentrup approves this judgement,³ and I know of no theologian who would question it.

The argument seems sound. Manifestly, one man could not have every possible physical deformity; one form of curvature of the spine excludes another. Why, then, should Christ have taken any? For the purpose of the Incarnation is fulfilled by the assumption of the common lot, and a bodily deformity would not have helped. It has, indeed, been argued by some theologians whom the Salmanticenses considered unworthy of being named, that since the purpose of the Incarnation is to satisfy for men's sins, an affliction like epilepsy would have increased the suffering, and so, presumably, the satisfactory value of Christ's life. The mistake here, however, is to imagine that the value of the satisfaction springs merely from the amount of the suffering; a mistake which several of the Reformers did not shrink from pushing to the conclusion that Christ actually endured the pains of hell. Since, they argued, man's sins deserve hell, satisfaction for sin must involve an endurance of the suffering due

¹ In the sixth and seventh centuries various Monophysitic sects seem to have denied or doubted this. The literature about them is considerable, but need not delay us here.

² *Summa*, p. 3, q. 14, a. 4; cf. in 3 D, 15.

³ Cf. Salmanticenses, *Cursus Theologicus*, t. 15, disp. 24, dub. 1, n. 2, Paris ed. 1880, p. 420; Stentrup, *Prael. Theol. de Verbo Incarnato*, Vol. I, p. 935, Oeniponte, 1882.

to them, and hence Christ in the literal sense "descended into hell", although He did not remain there for ever.¹

Needless to say this view is strenuously denied by all Catholic theologians, save these unnamed few. The value of Christ's satisfaction springs radically from His personality, since each act that He does is the act of God, and hence is of limitless worth, as is demonstrated at length in all treatises on the matter, and as is manifest in the words of the hymn: "cuius una stilla saluum facere totum mundum quit ab omni scelere". To imagine, then, that Christ would have made more satisfaction had He been in some way deformed, or had had the suffering incidental to unusual ugliness, is to accept a false theological principle. The doctrine of the Incarnation means that God took a real human nature, and all that is inherent in human nature; but certainly not that He assumed any particular deformity to which human nature is liable.

The Salmanticenses mention another difficulty, urged by these same unknown people, that if Christ had suffered from some physical deformity, He would have been more "like to His brethren", and would have shown more sympathy for the unfortunates of this world; so often those who are in good health are inclined to be less understanding to the weakly and ailing, "for in that wherein he himself hath suffered and been tempted, he is able to succour them also that are tempted".² But the argument is fallacious. The basis of human sympathy is not any particular suffering, but our common human nature which is liable to suffering, as Thomas points out.³ Compassion is not necessarily based upon an experience of suffering exactly the same as others, but upon an understanding heart. It springs from the imaginative capacity to put oneself in another's place, from universality of understanding. Further, in the case of Christ, any particular defect might, indeed, have inspired an

¹ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, bk. II, ch. 16, n. 10; Dorner, in his famous *System of Christian Doctrine*, Vol. IV, p. 27 ff., subjects this "theologoumenon" to sound criticism. He remarks: "The usual supposition was that the satisfaction of divine justice consisted in the same amount of suffering befalling Christ which would have befallen those destined to obtain forgiveness." Stentrup quotes several non-Catholic theologians of the eighteenth century who still defended this "quantitative" view of suffering and satisfaction; cf. his Vol. II, *Soteriologia*, p. 234 ff.

² Heb. ii, 18.

³ Q. 14, a. 4, ad 1.

assurance of sympathy in those who suffered from the same kind of defect; but it would not have inspired the same assurance in those who suffered differently. Here, again, the principle holds that our Saviour's healing and redeeming mission demanded the fullness of humanity and of human experience of suffering; but not that He should be subject to any special form of human affliction.

From this it appears to follow that Christ would have had full integrity of all organs and limbs, and a due proportion between them. Since, further, He had good health, it also seems to follow that physically He would have had all that befits sound manhood; not, indeed, that He would have appeared, like Priam, as outwardly so majestic as to seem a natural king, but that, among the men of His time, He would have been definitely of good appearance and bearing.

Two other considerations are adduced by theologians. First, that Christ in His humanity is the exemplar and model of mankind, and will be, after the resurrection, a partial object of human beatitude. Christ is the "second Adam", as is plain from St Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians, ch. xv, verses 45 ff., and from the general teaching of the Fathers of the Church, which there is no need here to detail; Christ is the model of humanity: "Whom he foreknew, he also predestined to be made conformable to the image of his Son: that he might be the firstborn amongst many brethren."¹ Now, undoubtedly, our conformity to Christ consists primarily in our adopted sonship, of which His natural Sonship was the model and exemplar; and, further, our conformity to Christ will consist in sharing the qualities of His glorious body after the resurrection. But is it in these two senses, exclusively, that Christ is the model of humanity? It would be difficult, perhaps, to demonstrate that Scripture and Tradition do intend to assert that Christ is the model of humanity also in a mental and physical sense; but, on the other hand, the clear assumption seems to be that Christ is, in every sense, the kind of man God wanted and envisaged in creating man. In every respect, Christ typifies all that is best in manhood, and in Him, the idea of manhood finds its best expression. Christ was, indeed, of one particular race, and His

¹ Rom. viii, 29; cf. Phil. iii, 21.

appearance, doubtless, manifested His origin from that race; nevertheless, that particularization was not such as to prevent His being the perfect type of man. This argument is adduced by Suarez, the Salmanticenses, Stentrup, and Janssens; and seems sound.

The other consideration is drawn from the interaction of soul and body. The argument is that the perfection of Christ must have made a perfect harmony between body and soul; and, since His soul was clearly most perfect, His body also must have been correspondingly perfect. Dr Dearmer's remark that "the outward form of man is ultimately the expression of the soul within" needs some restriction; for ugly and deformed people may spiritually be supremely noble and holy, as Vavasour pointed out against the theologians of his time.¹ Christ, in His Passion, showed no exterior beauty to correspond with the spiritual beauty within. In spite of this, however, there seems substance in the consideration. Sometimes even deformed and ugly people manifest a certain serenity or cheerfulness, which springs from the spirit and shines forth even through what is physically unattractive. In the case of Christ, grant that His body was not in any way ill-proportioned or deformed, and grant the general doctrine that soul and body form one whole, then it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that in some sort, at least, there would have been a reflection in physical appearance of the nobility and holiness of the soul.

The instinct of the faithful is sufficiently manifest from the remarks of Calmet and of Dr Dearmer already quoted. They felt and feel that Christ must have been, in His human appearance, becoming and gracious. This is clear from the very first pictures made of Christ, and the tradition holds throughout the whole of the history of Christian art; any picture in which Christ's physiognomy is repellent is at once marked as exceptional and abnormal, and it is doubtful whether any such have survived. Some few theologians, like Vavasour, Rigault and Thomassin, do argue that Christ chose an unprepossessing appearance in order to teach us to despise outward beauty, and to look exclusively upon spiritual things; but there seems no substance in the argument. Christ taught us this quite suffi-

¹ Op. cit., p. 127 ff.

ciently by His manner of life and by His Passion and death. The purpose of the Incarnation, as Scotists and Thomists agree,¹ was also to add greater worth and dignity to manhood, and man is not soul alone, but body and soul, as the resurrection so clearly shows.

It may, however, advisedly be added that the outward appearance of Christ, had we actually seen Him in the flesh, might not have met our antecedent ideas of what constitutes physical nobility in man; for we are all to some extent bound down by our experience, and, in any case, ideas on such subjects differ considerably. The warning given by Vavasour, Rigault and Thomassin may well make us pause before attaching too much importance either to the representations of artists, even the greatest, or to our own private imaginings.

The conclusion of a study of the evidence regarding Christ's appearance may seem disappointing, since it emphasizes the fact that we simply do not know how Christ looked, save that He was becoming and even noble. Nevertheless, it is perhaps not quite so disappointing as may appear; and I give some of my own reflections upon the matter, submitting them to the wisdom of readers, and not attaching too great importance to them:

1. We are not bound to any particular manner of representing Christ, beyond the acceptance of the usual norms of reverence and good taste. Artists and our imaginations are left free to represent Christ as seems good.

2. In all artistic representations of Christ, the fact of His real humanity ought to be maintained; and the symbolic principle should never be so applied as to obliterate the real manhood, or to make Christ *merely* a symbol of spiritual truth. The early Christians did, indeed, represent Christ under the symbolic figures of Hermes and of Orpheus; but, even here, the human nature was very clear, and, in any case, the early Christians lived in times of persecution, and before heresies denying the reality of His manhood had manifested their deleterious effect.

Speaking for myself, I do not like crucifixes in which the figure of Christ is purely symbolic, with no indication of suffer-

¹ Cf. Thomas, 3, q. 46, a. 3 in corp. *quinto*.

ing. The cross alone is an historic symbol; but if a figure be added to it, is it not an undue extension of the symbolic principle to make the figure also purely symbolic? One may rightly object to crude and repulsive crucifixes, such as are sometimes seen in poor churches, or by the wayside; but may one not also object to crucifixes in which the figure is fully and ornately clothed, and shows no evidence of pain or of death?

3. It would seem good that there should be variety in depictions of Christ, both in physiognomy, and in activity and surroundings. This would seem to follow from the principle of Origen, approved in substance by St Augustine, that Christ's appearance varied according to the spiritual perceptivity of the beholder; the vision of Christ seen by different artists can help greatly to increase devotion among the faithful, and perhaps among unbelievers. Moreover new artistic media, like the cinema and television, open new possibilities, difficult, indeed to fulfil, but a challenge to imaginative power, skill and devotion.

4. I should like to raise discussion as to the wisdom of representing Christ as unmistakably a member of a race of which historically He was not a member; that is, of representing Him as manifestly and unmistakably a blond Nordic, or a Mongolian, or a Negroid. On the one hand, such representations might seem to suggest that the historical facts of God's Incarnation are of small consequence; but on the other, some might stoutly maintain that such representations bring out the fact of the historical Incarnation, and at the same time stress Christ's kinship with all men of whatever race or colour. These latter may be right; but it seems to me that for Him to be represented throughout the world as clearly a member of different races is apt to confuse the minds of the simple, and to lead to the idea that the only thing that matters about Christ is "His spiritual impact upon the soul". To represent Him here as a fair-haired Nordic, there as a curly-haired African, and elsewhere as a slant-eyed inhabitant of China, appears to me to make too much concession to racialism, and to tend to a kind of Docetic concept of Him.

Certainly, in feature, in colour, in attitude, He may be represented diversely; and there seems no objection to the representation approaching another type than the Semitic.

Many beautiful pictures from mission countries illustrate this excellently, and make an African or an Asian feel that Christ was not, in the sense obnoxious to them, a "European". Nevertheless, for my own part, I have misgivings about too manifest a "racializing" of Him as other than He was, a Jew of Palestine. Perhaps in actual historical fact, Christ did not astonishingly differ from any race of men, especially since He was probably dark in complexion; and hence representations of Him need not, and should not, affect members of any race with a sense of strangeness or alienation.

BERNARD LEEMING, S.J.

NOTES ON RECENT WORK

HOLY SCRIPTURE

THE present year of grace, at the moment of writing exactly at the half-way mark, may well rank in future years, for all who are interested in Holy Scripture, as one that saw a great and, indeed, unique event, the Rome meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study, and several publications of quite exceptional interest and importance. Something must be said of each of these matters in turn.

First and foremost, the Rome meeting in the great hall of the Biblical Institute in the Via della Pilotta, for the use of which we are deeply grateful to the Rector, Father Ernest Vogt, S.J., was the realization of a plan first mentioned quite tentatively at the Durham gathering in July 1950, and seriously put in hand after a decision favourable to the project had been taken at the Society's Winter Meeting in January 1951. Like most events of this kind, it called for an all but incredible amount of planning and correspondence. By the beginning of

April of this year, when the members and their guests arrived in Rome, the project had occupied the Society's officers for fully a year and a half, and the entire success of the undertaking still depended, in some part, on various factors outside human planning, notably upon the weather. In the event the meeting was a triumphant success, the weather was quite perfect, and all the conferences were well attended. The decision not to overburden the scheme with lectures (in contrast with the Göttingen *Tagung* of 1935 where the lectures averaged five a day!) proved to be a wise one. All but two of the ten conferences were delivered in the evening, and this left the greater part of every day free for visits to the museums and monuments of the Holy City. The highlights of the meeting were, undoubtedly, the Papal audience of Maundy Thursday (10 April), the chief feature of which, the Holy Father's address of welcome to the delegates, has been printed in the July number of this REVIEW; the personally conducted visit to the excavations under St Peter's; and the expedition to Hadrian's Villa and the Villa d'Este at Tivoli. As usual, on such occasions, the lectures were the least important part of the proceedings, and the personal contacts between Catholic scholars resident in Rome and the visiting Protestant scholars were of the highest value. (Is there, by the way, any other Biblical faculty in the world with a staff of some forty professors, all engaged on some aspect or other of Bible study?) It may be mentioned that on the last afternoon (Easter Sunday) the President of the Society for 1952 had the happiness of introducing the other visiting members of the Committee to His Eminence Cardinal Tisserant, Dean of the Sacred College and President of the Pontifical Biblical Commission. That evening, at the closing session, a presentation was made to Father Robert Dyson, professor at the Institute, who had done more than any other member of the Society to ensure the magnificent success of its fifty-fifth and Roman meeting.

Among the publications already to hand of the Scriptural output for 1952, none, it may safely be said, can exceed in importance the eagerly awaited volumes by Père F. M. Abel, of the École Biblique de S. Étienne, Jerusalem, on the history of Palestine from 333 B.C. to A.D. 640. The title is *Histoire de la Palestine depuis la Conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'Invasion Arabe*, and

it is the latest addition to the famous *Études Bibliques* series.¹ It may be remembered that, just twenty years ago, Père Abel contributed the Palestinian section of *Les Guides Bleus : Syrie-Palestine, Iraq-Transjordanie*, and that this included a short "aperçu historique" of Palestine from the dawn of history to the present time, in which the nine hundred years from Alexander's conquest to the Arab invasion occupied exactly three pages! The present complete and as it were definitive history of the period is on the grand scale, and may be said to provide a page for each year of the nine centuries under discussion. It completes on the historical side two earlier books of Père Abel, the two-volume *Géographie de la Palestine*, now universally quoted as the standard work on its subject, and the admirable commentary, published in 1949, *Les Livres des Maccabées*. As in all the historical and geographical works of Père Vincent and Père Abel, one has the impression from the start of complete mastery, of exceptionally wide reading, and of a knowledge of the terrain denied to those who have not lived for years in the Holy Land and travelled frequently throughout its length and breadth. As might be expected, a good part of the first volume is concerned with events already related and discussed in the commentary on the Books of Machabees, and those who were so fortunate as to study those books under Père Abel's direction will be the first to appreciate his remark that human knowledge of ancient history would have been most grievously curtailed if these primary sources had been lost, through some accident, in "death's dateless night". The first of the recent volumes may be said to fall naturally into two divisions, i.e. Palestine under Greek rule until the moment when that Greek rule came to an end with Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in 63 B.C., and the later history of the land after it had taken its place as part of the Roman Empire down to the beginnings of the Jewish resistance movement in A.D. 66.

The second of the two volumes under notice begins with a chapter on the organization of Jewish resistance by the extremists, and on the campaign of Vespasian and Titus in Perea,

¹ Tome I. *De la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à la guerre juive*. Pp. xv + 505. Price 2600 francs. Tome II. *De la guerre juive à l'invasion arabe*. Pp. x + 406. Price 2200 francs. (Gabalda, Paris, 1952.)

Idumea, and Judea. Then follow some twenty pages devoted to the most exciting of all incidents in that War, the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus, and the final incidents of the Roman conquest, or re-conquest, of the land. One may compare with these pages of close and detailed narrative the all too brief account, compressed into two and a half pages, in Robinson and Oesterley's *History of Israel* (Vol. II, pp. 447-51). The remaining chapters (III-XI) carry on the history from A.D. 71 down to the years of Constantine's rule before the Council of Nicaea. The third and last division of the history (from the Council of Nicaea to the Arab conquest in A.D. 640) comprises seven chapters with such headings as Palestine under the Constantinian and Valentinian dynasties, Palestine under Theodosius II and Marcian, Arabs and monks in the fifth century, Palestine under Justinian and his successors, and, finally, the conquest of Palestine under the Arabs and the end, for many centuries, of any specifically Christian régime. The writing throughout is careful and restrained, and no single instance of a purple patch can be found. If it has not the brilliance of some minor works (such as the late Dr Edwyn Bevan's delightful *Jerusalem under the High Priests*), it has a sureness of touch and an abundance of bibliographical reference that bespeak great erudition. The only outstanding defect in these satisfying volumes lies in the absence of maps, without which so complicated an operation as the siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 70-71 cannot in any way be adequately followed. Fortunately the *Westminster Historical Atlas of the Bible* is now possessed by all serious students, and its quite excellent cartography will make amends for any failure in this respect in Père Abel's otherwise admirable work.

Writing as one who has had the latest volume in the *International Critical Commentary* on order for several years and has made regular inquiries for it at half-yearly intervals, I can welcome with great satisfaction the *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* by the late Professor J. A. Montgomery and Professor H. S. Gehman.¹ It may be recalled that no volume in this series has been published since 1936, when the

¹ Pp. xlviii + 575. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1951 (but actually published in 1952). Price £1 15s.

late Professor G. A. Cooke's *Ezekiel* appeared, and that a number of its commentaries on Biblical books still remain unpublished, notably those on Isaias (from chapter xxviii onwards), on Jeremias, on Exodus and Leviticus, and on the Acts of the Apostles. Professor Montgomery's valuable commentary on Daniel was issued in 1927, and the present volume was ready to be printed in 1941, was returned to the author owing to war-time conditions, and now at last sees the light, some three years after the professor's death on 6 February, 1949. Professor Gehman tells us in his addition to the preface that he has revised the bibliography, inserted his own chronological table of the Kings of Israel and Juda, prepared the indexes, and made some changes and revisions of the type usually associated with a redactor. Much space has been devoted to the text and language and to the ancient versions; there is also a long and useful section of introduction on the sources of the Books of Kings. As in other volumes of this series the commentary proper is set out in large type, and the philological and textual notes follow each section in much smaller print. Wherever it has been tested, it reveals the immensity (there is no other word for it) of the author's knowledge of all the best work that has been done on these books. The twenty-four pages of the bibliography represent in themselves a lifetime of study of all the sources that can possibly help towards the interpretation. By comparison so well-known a book as C. F. Burney's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings*, published in 1903, gives the air of being a minor contribution and quite certainly suffers from being nearly half a century old, while it still retains much of its value. It is pleasant to notice that Catholic work on these books has been carefully studied. One of the works to which reference is frequently made is Dr A. Šanda's two volumes entitled: *Die Bücher der Könige* (1911-12) in the Münster series of the *Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*. In fact it is very difficult to discover any work of importance that has been omitted, apart from some older authors (Richard of St Victor, Cajetan and some others). Cardinal Ruffini's *Chronologia Veteris et Novi Testamenti in aeram nostram collata* (Rome, 1924) should certainly have been mentioned. P. Vannutelli's useful *Libri Synoptici Veteris Testamenti* (giving the texts of Kings and Chronicles in

parallel columns) is listed, but the author's name is throughout spelt with one "n". Two authors with the same surname (Père H. Vincent, O.P., and M. A. Vincent of Strasburg) are so confused that the latter's *La religion des judéo-araméens d'Éléphantiné* is attributed to the former. And a reference, apropos of II Kings ii, 8, to an article by P. Joüon in the *Revue Biblique*, is really a reference to Vol. XV of *Biblica*. But, in general, the standard of accuracy in such matters seems to be very high.

A few years ago the suggestion that the late Professor H. B. Swete's fundamental commentary on St Mark in Macmillan's excellent series would actually be replaced by another, quite up-to-date volume in the same series might have been regarded as revolutionary. But actually there was, even in the professor's own lifetime, a certain impression that something might well be done to supplement the work of one who, great scholar as he was, took a somewhat old-fashioned view of much recent study of the Gospels. In the memoir published shortly after Swete's death on 10 May, 1917¹ we are told that "the synoptic problem as it presents itself to many students today, scarcely existed for him" (p. 109). Doubtless the study of form-criticism would have been even more repugnant to him, if he had lived to read the works of Bultmann, Bertram and Schmidt. At any rate, the decision to replace Swete's *St Mark* was taken and we now have a large volume entitled *The Gospel according to St Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indexes* by that first-rate New Testament scholar, Principal Vincent Taylor² of Wesley College, Headingley.

The author, from the very start, disclaims any intention to give to the world a definitive commentary on St Mark. He is aware that on the patristic side he has not much to offer, and refers to "the classical commentaries of Swete and Lagrange". In the department of Semitic studies he says that he is not "in any sense a Semitic specialist", and has been guided in such matters by such experts as Dr W. F. Howard, Dr Norman Snaith, and Dr Matthew Black. The text he has used is a modified form of that established by Westcott and Hort, with due appreciation of the wealth of new readings contributed by the

¹ *Henry Barclay Swete, A Remembrance*. (Macmillan, 1918.)

² Pp. xx + 696. (Macmillan, London, 1952.) Price £2 10s.

Washington and Koridethi codices, the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript, the Chester Beatty papyri, and the closer study of ancient versions, notably the Armenian and the Georgian. On the important topic of the Semitic background of the Gospel, Dr Taylor has many interesting judgements, particularly the following: "We have very good reason to speak of an Aramaic background to the Greek of the Gospel; there are grounds for suspecting the existence of Aramaic sources, which may, however, be oral; and we can speak of the Evangelist's use of a tradition which ultimately is Aramaic; but to say more is speculation" (p. 56). The detailed examination of Semitic usages in the various parts of speech is one of the best sections of Chapter VI. In the chapter on the theology of the Gospel careful attention is given to the analysis of the vitally important words and expressions. On the objectivity of the Gospel, the careful statement of Mark's vivid and lifelike touches, as found in the first six chapters, is particularly to be noted. On the subject of "the miraculous element in the Gospel" Dr Taylor's position is far less traditional, and he admits legendary elements, particularly in the nature-miracles. On such a passage as x, 17 ff., on which Swete commented that the words "Why callest thou me good?" did not "touch the question of our Lord's human sinlessness or of His oneness with the Father", Dr Taylor's solution is far less satisfactory. It is regrettable that, while many Catholic writers (notably Lagrange) are used by the author, such a work as Abbot Chapman's *Matthew, Mark and Luke* is nowhere cited or referred to. This is a book that contains much of value, but it must assuredly be used with discretion.

The excellent German commentary, edited by Dr Friedrich Nötscher, entitled *Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung: Echter Bibel* is now almost complete in its Old Testament section. The present *Lieferung* is No. 13 and contains a text and short commentary of Job by H. Junker and of Sirach by V. Hamp.¹ The fourteenth part will be an edition of the Pentateuch by H. Junker and H. Schneider, and the last part will be a table of contents with maps and chronological tables. Both these commentaries are highly competent and give clear and interesting guidance, but the textual apparatus to *Sirach* is a

¹ Pp. 104 and 146. (Echter Verlag, Würzburg, 1951.) Price D. 7.50.

good deal fuller than that to Dr Junker's *Job*. It seems that the latter author mistrusts the tendency to excessive textual correction shown by some of his predecessors (notably, no doubt, by É. Dhorme in *Le Livre de Job*, still admittedly, after a quarter of a century, the best commentary in existence) and he prefers to resolve difficulties in the text by exegesis rather than by textual corrections.

Mr F. F. Bruce, head of the department of Biblical history and literature in the University of Sheffield, has produced a most useful edition of *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary*,¹ which aims at giving all the help needed by those who are studying the Greek text, and who need a one-volume commentary that is "neither too technical nor too popular for the requirements of ordinary students". The introduction of sixty-four pages is a masterpiece of concise statement. Apropos of St Luke's accuracy, Mr Bruce reminds us that: "Luke's accuracy betokens not only contemporary knowledge, but a natural accuracy of mind, and if his trustworthiness is vindicated in points where he can be checked, we should not assume that he is less trustworthy where we cannot test his accuracy" (p. 17). The text of Westcott and Hort is printed in short sections and in very clear type, and the commentary, though compressed, gives abundant help, particularly on the historical and linguistic aspects. One is glad to find a mention of Catholic commentaries, and a special word of praise for the admirable *Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum* by A. Camerlynck and A. van der Heeren (Bruges, 1923).

Many important books on the Bible are being published at the present time in Spain, among which one should single out the great Montserrat commentary on the Bible. One of the latest volumes is the *Jeremias* of Dom B. Augé, O.S.B., being Volume XIV of *La Biblia: Versió dels Textos Originals i Comentari*.² It is unfortunate that the language chosen for the commentary was Catalan, a language so little known in this country. There are, however, plenty of works written in the more familiar Castilian, among which may be mentioned Canon G. Ulecia's *Introducción General a la Sagrada Biblia*, one of the many

¹ Pp. 491. (The Tyndale Press, London, 1951.) Price £1 5s.

² Pp. 406. (Monastery of Montserrat, 1951.) Price not stated.

excellent publications of the Instituto Central de Cultura Religiosa Superior.¹ This covers all the ordinary questions treated in Catholic universities and seminaries under the heading of general introduction to the Bible. It is far better adapted to the use of the educated laity than any Latin manual could be, and it has the advantage of including fourteen small but clear photographs of portions of the Lachish letters, the Dead Sea scrolls, the Nash papyrus, three of the Greek codices, and the Alcala Polyglot. The Archbishop of Saragossa in his preface rightly claims that the book is "completa, docta y muy apropiada para seglares".

JOHN M. T. BARTON

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

FAST ON THE DAY PRECEDING CONSECRATION OF CHURCH

Is the law requiring certain persons to fast on the day preceding the consecration of a church strictly a precept or merely a counsel? Does it include all the parishioners when a parish church is being consecrated? and does it bind at the present time when, in the common law, the days of fasting are reduced to four? (O.)

REPLY

Canon 1166, §2: *Episcopus consecrator et qui petunt ecclesiam sibi consecrari, per eum diem qui consecrationem praecedat ieiunent.*

Code Commission, 20 July, 1929, III: *An ieiunium in consecratione ecclesiae, de quo in canone 1166, §2, moderandum sit secundum communem legem ieiunii ecclesiastici. Resp. Affirmative.*

S.R.C., 29 July, 1780, I: *An ieiunium in Pontificali Romano*

¹ Pp. xxii + 298. (Publicaciones Afebe, Madrid, 1930.) Price 60 pesetas.

praescriptum . . . sit strictae obligationis; vel potius tantum de consilio? *Resp* . . . esse strictae obligationis pro Episcopo consecrante, et pro iis tantum qui petunt sibi Ecclesiam consecrari. . . .

The dedication of a church being relatively speaking rare the law relating to it is little known, commentators are not very informative, and various views are possible in the solution of the above questions. What follows is to the best of our knowledge correct.

i. The fast on the preceding day is a law, and not merely a counsel, binding at least *sub levi* those mentioned: the common and the more probable opinion is that it binds *sub gravi*.¹ The persons who ask for their church to be consecrated might be, for example, the Chapter of a collegiate church, the members of a religious community to whom the church belongs, and the parish priest. No doubt, in some instances, all the parishioners might come under the description "qui petunt ecclesiam sibi consecrari", but normally they do not since it is a ceremony which chiefly concerns the clergy, and the request is usually made by them.²

ii. The Code Commission's reply has clarified a number of points relating to the fast. It used to be thought by many that the fast was, so to speak, part of the consecration rite, and was therefore to be interpreted more strictly than the law of the ordinary ecclesiastical fast: the faculty of dispensing the latter, conceded in canon 1245 to Ordinaries and parish priests, was held not to apply to the former. It is now clear that the common law on fasting applies to this day as to any other fasting day, for the reason of it is the same: it is to prepare for a coming festal occasion, as during Lent in preparation for Easter, or on a vigil in preparation for the feast day. There is not, however, unanimity in drawing the practical conclusions which should follow from this identification: we think there is sufficient authority for the view that the rule of canon 1252, §4, is applicable: the fast lapses if the day preceding the consecration rite is a Sunday or a holy day of obligation.³ Meat is permitted at the chief meal unless the day happens already to be one of abstinence. What-

¹ Cappello, *Periodica*, 1929, p. 254.

² Many, *De Locis Sacris*, §13.

³ Beste, *Introductio*, p. 1166.

ever excuses a person from the ordinary law of fasting excuses also on this occasion, and the relative norm in determining the amount permitted at subsidiary fasts may be followed.

iii. The Congregation of the Council, 28 January, 1949, modifying a previous direction of the Holy See, by which local Ordinaries were permitted to dispense the law of fasting owing to war conditions, decided that four days were for the time being to be days of fast and abstinence: Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, and the vigils of the Assumption and Christmas Day.¹ We can find no one who discusses whether the vigil of the consecration of a church is, for the time being, excepted from the fasting laws. Bearing in mind the Code Commission's reply, and the fact that this day is not amongst those chosen by the Congregation of the Council, we think that the local Ordinary's general dispensation from the law of fasting includes this day.

CANON 522: CONFESSIONS OF RELIGIOUS

The suggested Code for Eastern Churches, in the equivalent of our canon 522, declares a confession to be unlawful but not invalid if heard *ad conscientiae tranquillitatem* in an unauthorized place. May we now interpret our law in this liberal sense? (T.)

REPLY

Canon 522: Si non obstante praescripto cans. 520, 521, aliqua religiosa, ad suae conscientiae tranquillitatem, confessorium adeat ab Ordinario loci pro mulieribus approbatum, confessio in qualibet ecclesia vel oratorio etiam semi-publico peracta, valida et licita est, revocato quolibet contrario privilegio; neque Antistita id prohibere potest aut de ea re inquirere, ne indirecte quidem; et religiosae nihil Antistitae referre tenentur.

De Religiosis . . . pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus, can. 54; A.A.S., 1952, XLIV, p. 81: Si non obstante . . . peracta, aut in loco ad audiendas confessiones mulierum vel religiosarum legitime des-

¹ THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1942, XXII, p. 234; XXXI, 1949, p. 279.

tinato. . . . Quodsi confessio peragatur in loco non audiendis confessionibus destinato, valida quidem est, sed confessarius illicite agit, nisi in aliquo casu extraordinario graves rationes id exegerint.

Code Commission, 28 December, 1927; *A.A.S.*, 1927, XX, p. 61: Utrum confessio religiosarum peracta extra loca, de quibus in canone 522 et in responso diei 24 Novembris 1920, sit tantum illicita an etiam invalida? *Resp.* Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.

A series of replies from the Code Commission and its then President, Cardinal Gasparri, has given an extended interpretation to the terms of this canon,¹ and only one reply was restrictive—that of 28 December, 1927, deciding that the circumstance of legitimate place affected the validity of the absolution given under canon 522. This one restriction has so far preserved, with an invalidating effect, the principle of canon 876, which requires special jurisdiction for hearing the confession of religious women. The newly promulgated Code for the Eastern Churches has removed this one restriction, and it is likely that at some future time it will also be removed from our own law, thus completing the evolutions which have gradually abolished, as regards validity, the law requiring special jurisdiction for absolving religious women.

The reply, however, of 28 December, 1927, which made public a private reply of Cardinal Gasparri, 16 January, 1921, is still the law for us in the Western Church, and we may not anticipate the application to us of an interpretation given directly for the East. A nun's confession heard in an unlawful place is invalid at the moment: the confessor must hear it in a confessional, and it is invalid elsewhere except for the reasons given in canon 910, §1, which permit any woman's confession elsewhere.

CARMELITE NUNS: CHANT

The Carmelite nuns sing the chant on practically a monotone, even on great feasts. Is this ordered by their constitutions? And may any community use the Vatican chant if desired? (S.)

¹ THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1941, XX, p. 452.

REPLY

Since the question is largely a domestic one for the communities concerned and few published documents are available, our opinion must be taken with reserve and subject to correction by those who have more information.

At one time the Carmelite nuns did not have the same identical constitutions, whether subject or not subject to the local Ordinary, a condition of things which has been gradually remedied by the Holy See. Pius XI, 22 June, 1926, approved a text of the constitutions as amended in accordance with the Code, and on the 22nd of the following month the Sovereign Pontiff expressed a desire that this revised text should be used in all convents of discalced Carmelites. By a decree of the Congregation of Religious, 19 September, 1936, this desire of the Holy Father became a mandate.¹ We are informed that n. 49 in Cap. V of these constitutions reads as follows: "On Sundays and other feasts, Vespers and Mass are to be chanted. On the first days of Easter and on the other more solemn feasts, especially the feast of the glorious St Joseph, Matins and Lauds may also be chanted. The chant is to be monotone without modulation (NOTE. This does not preclude the use of the Gregorian Chant where it has already been introduced); and except on the aforesaid feasts the whole of the divine office is to be simply recited."

The NOTE seems to refer to a letter of Pius XI, 12 October, 1924, addressed to Cardinal Dubois with reference to the French Carmels. It is of a non-committal character and declares amongst other things, under (c), that the primitive constitutions requiring the chant to be *recto tono* without notes have not been changed in the revised text (which is given the date of February 1924); under (e), that it is not a question of using a kind of Gregorian chant other than that of the Vatican edition; under (f), that Gregorian chant has been used for some time in the Spanish Carmels and that some French ones desire it. The conclusion or dispositive part of this letter is that the papal approval of Gregorian chant in certain Carmels does not imply

¹ A.A.S., 1936, XXVIII, p. 405.

that the Holy See disapproves of the traditional *recto tono* chant elsewhere, and that the Carmels in France and elsewhere may use either method in accordance with their local conditions and customs. The Holy See appreciates the value of conforming with the common liturgical practice, and also appreciates, on the other hand, the importance of retaining traditions which have been lawfully authorized and recognized.¹ What could be fairer? The Holy See, recognizing no doubt that the Gregorian chant is unacceptable in certain convents, allows the old method to continue.

Our opinion accordingly is that certain convents which had introduced Gregorian chant between 1924 and 1926 are entitled to retain it, relying on the NOTE to constitution n. 49. We also think that any community which desires to introduce it, against the tradition and custom to the contrary, would have no difficulty in obtaining whatever permission is required.

CLERICS AS LOCAL COUNCILLORS

What is the law regarding clerics offering themselves for election as local councillors? (P.)

REPLY

Canon 139, §4: *Senatorum aut oratorum legibus ferendis, quos deputatos vocant, munus ne sollicitent neve acceptent sine licentia Sanctae Sedis in locis ubi pontificia prohibitio intercesserit; idem ne attentent aliis in locis sine licentia tum sui Ordinarii, tum Ordinarii loci in quo electio facienda est.*

Code Commission, 25 April, 1922, II: *An Ordinarii locorum in concedenda licentia sacerdotibus qui se candidatos ad deputorum comitia sistere cupiunt, potius difficiles quam faciles se praebere debeant. Resp. Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam.*

The canon cited deals with various pursuits which, though not indecorous, are somewhat unsuited to the clerical pro-

¹ *Documentation Catholique*, 1925, p. 27.

fession. Permission must be obtained from the Holy See in countries such as Italy, where there exists a papal prohibition against clerics assuming these civil offices. Elsewhere the Ordinary's sanction suffices, and the answer to be expected will usually be a negative one, unless special reasons exist affecting the welfare of Catholics. A later reply of the Code Commission, 15 March, 1927, strengthened the powers of Ordinaries in stopping any political activity on the part of clerics which was not in conformity with the instructions of the Holy See.

RESCRIPTS CONCERNING INDULGENCES

I am informed that a tax is payable to the Sacred Penitentiary when certain rescripts for obtaining indulgences are granted. If this is correct, does it not conflict with the generally accepted principle that money payments never enter into the matter of indulgences? (T.)

REPLY

i. If instead of the word "obtaining" we read "granting" our correspondent's information is substantially correct. One must remember, at the outset, that there is no principle forbidding parting with money even when the indulgence, and not merely a rescript for its granting, is desired. The abuses connected with the matter in the past, especially on the eve of the Reformation in Germany, have rightly caused a reaction against a practice which was a fertile source of scandal. But examples could be cited in modern times of almsgiving being included amongst the conditions for obtaining certain indulgences, as for example an "extraordinary" Jubilee. The condition may be commuted in the case of people who cannot afford anything, but the authors continue to discuss various casuistical questions arising from it.¹

ii. Like other sections of the Roman Curia the Sacred Penitentiary needs some income in order to function. The tradition,

¹ De Angelis, *De Indulgentiis*, §191.

however, is in principle to issue rescripts for the internal forum gratis, for example the commutation of private vows reserved to the Holy See in canon 1309, and it is likewise the tradition, which the experience of many confessors substantiates, to reply to all petitions with the utmost despatch: in normal times a week will usually suffice.

iii. Some writers explaining the practice of the Roman Curia state that a rescript granting faculties, for example, to bless and indulgence rosaries, is always gratis¹ and it may be that this is the rule at the present time. On the other hand the Constitution of Pius XI *Quae Divinitus*, 25 March, 1931² promulgating a new set of rules for the Sacred Penitentiary, definitely provided for taxation in para. 10. Canestri, in his well-informed commentary, states: "In sectione vero indulgentiarum sunt taxae pro rescriptis . . . Itaque pro altari privilegiato, pro facultate benedicendi res sacras adnectendo eis indulgentias, et similia, quaedam taxae hodie impositae sunt as subveniendum Sanctae Sedis necessitatibus pro dicasteriorum expensis."³

NOMEN EPISCOPI

Why is it that in some missionary parts, governed by a Vicar Apostolic who is a bishop, his name is mentioned in the Canon of the Mass, whereas in other parts it is omitted? (R.)

REPLY

S.R.C., 8 March, 1919; *A.A.S.*, XI, 145. An Vicariis et Praefectis Apostolicis de novo iure competat, in proprio territorio, ut nominentur in canone Missae? *Resp.* S.C. audito specialis Commissionis voto, attento etiam can. 2 et altero 308 Codicis Iuris Canonici omnibusque perpensis, respondendum censuit *Negative* iuxta rubricas et decreta; quia de iure adhuc vigente, in Canone Missae, exprimendum est tantum nomen Patriarchae,

¹ Sartori, *Jurisprudentiae Ecclesiasticae Elementa*, 1949, pp. 71-5.

² *A.A.S.*, XXVII, p. 97.

³ *Apollinaris*, 1935, p. 588.

Archiepiscopi et Episcopi qui sint Ordinarii loci, et in propria dioecesi.

Propaganda, Facultates, Formula Maior n. 53 . . . permittendi presbyteris in ecclesiis suae iurisdictionis celebrantibus ut sui nominis tanquam Antistitis . . . in Canone Missae mentio fiat . . .

i. The rule of the common law was always quite explicit, and is found in *Ritus Servandus* of the Roman Missal, viii, i, that the bishop's name is not mentioned unless he is an Ordinary in his own diocese. The question put to the Sacred Congregation immediately after the promulgation of the Code was prompted by a comparison of canons 2, 198, 294 and 308: the V.A. who is a bishop is an Ordinary with the same rights and faculties as other bishops, and it therefore appeared that his name should be mentioned in the Canon, in ferial prayers at Lauds and in the Exultet on Holy Saturday. The Congregation of Rites decided to the contrary, relying on the established liturgical laws existing before the Code which, from canon 2, are to remain unchanged unless the Code expressly corrects them. The reply does not appear in *Decreta Authentica*, Appendix II, published in 1927, but we have no doubt that the decision still applies. The reason is that VV.AA are not bishops of their own dioceses but are functioning as Vicars of the Bishop of Rome.

ii. In the most recent text of Propaganda Faculties¹ the indult quoted above is in the *Formula Maior* but not in the *Formula Minor*, which explains the diversity of practice existing in various districts subject to Propaganda; moreover a V.A. who enjoys the *Formula Maior* may elect not to use the faculty granted to him, which appears in the section headed "Pro Ipso Ordinario". It seems to us that, as the indult becomes widely extended, it will follow the development of such, and that the rule eventually will be the same for all; there is no intrinsic reason why a bishop who is the Pope's vicar should not be prayed for by name in the Canon.

E. J. M.

¹ *Monitor Ecclesiasticus*, 1950, p. 353.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Physical Phenomena of Mysticism. By Herbert Thurston, S.J.
 Edited by J. H. Crehan, S.J. Pp. 419. (Burns Oates. 35s.)

THIS is a collection of studies on the subject written over a period of twenty years, from 1919 to 1938. Unfortunately, only one is dated, that on *inedia*: 1931. Thus it is impossible to gauge if the difference of emphasis in the essays is due to some change of opinion on the part of Father Thurston, to the occasion which produced the essay, or to a solid conviction that certain phenomena are less patient of a natural explanation than others. For instance, is his apparent preference for absence of cadaveric rigidity and blood prodigies over levitation merely a matter of date? Being a collection, there are inevitable repetitions: D. D. Home and his witnesses seem again and again to pop up in much the same guise as they had popped up before. Sometimes there are strange inconsistencies: Maria de la Visitacion is quoted some half-dozen times as a typical impostor in spite of ten pages devoted to showing that she probably was not. Incidentally, Father Thurston's conclusion that she was most likely a "pious but neurotic visionary" seems hard to maintain: the physical phenomena cease after she has admitted fraud—which is equally compatible with their having a supernatural or a fraudulent origin; but it is difficult to see why any such admission should cure her neurosis. Again, on pp. 101-3, Father Thurston goes to considerable pains to show that "gross hysterical symptoms . . . will be missed if only looked for in so-called hysterical persons". It then becomes a little superfluous to make light of the stigmata of so many holy women on the grounds that they all had hysterical histories: clearly, whether or not they had such histories, their stigmata could still be "gross-hysterical symptoms". In this connexion, one cannot help feeling that Father Thurston has stuck far too rigidly to the *physical* phenomena. It is in fact extremely distorting to separate these from the ecstasy which produces them. What certainly appears true is that the overpowering ecstatic experience leaves its subject in such a state that almost anything may happen: stigmata, levitation, or nothing at all. Similarly, purely natural shocks can leave the Mollie Fanchers of this world in a curiously analogous condition. Or again: the fact that Dr Lechler seems to have produced the stigmata by hypnotic suggestion in his hysterical patient, Elizabeth, scarcely precludes God from suggesting as much to an ecstatic.

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This absence of any discussion on ecstasy leaves the essays without any very apparent thesis or theme. The book becomes over-much a catalogue of well-attested phenomena. So much so that it is not in the least surprising to find Indian fire-walkers given several pages and a little disappointing to find nothing about the rope-trick. If there is a theme, however, it appears to be summed up on page 2: "The evidence (of marvellous events) accumulated and relatively easy of access in the processes of beatification and canonization, printed with the sanction of the Congregation of Rites, is often more remarkable, and notably better attested, than any to be found in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*." Given such a theme, the emphasis then oscillates between admitting a phenomenon in a mystic because it has been produced (even if less well) by a medium or neurotic and denying for the same reason the supernatural origin of the said phenomenon.

After all strictures have been made, however, the book remains as eminently readable as worth reading, highly informative and interesting.

B. R. S. H.

Le Cardinal Mercier et l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de Louvain. By L. De Raeymaeker. Pp. 275. (Louvain 1952. 21s.)

It is probably not an exaggeration to regard Louvain as the most progressive centre of contemporary Thomism; and undoubtedly the Higher Institute of Philosophy, founded by Mercier in 1889 on the initiative of Leo XIII, is pre-eminent among the philosophical schools or faculties established in or near the University of Louvain. Even non-ecclesiastical circles recognize this primacy, as is suggested by the fact that Mgr De Raeymaeker, the president of the Institute, was the only Scholastic Philosopher invited to lecture at a Plenary Session of the last International Congress of Philosophy (Amsterdam, 1948). It is, then, worth inquiring how the Institute came into being, and grew to its present importance.

Mgr De Raeymaeker's book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge on this subject. It is divided into three chapters: the first outlines the biography of Cardinal Mercier; the second gives a very full account of his work and influence at Louvain (1882-1906); and finally there is a brief survey of the life of the Institute after Mercier's departure. The history of the foundation of the Institute is of particular interest. The events were determined largely by the opposition between the two trends of thought which are still influential in Thomist circles: on the one hand a conservatism attached to all the

elements of scholastic tradition without distinction; and on the other an intelligent openness of mind, firmly faithful to the permanent truth of Thomism, but ready to discard the unessential. This latter trend was, and still is, marked by an eagerness to understand modern thought and science, to benefit by them, and to help them to benefit by contact with a philosophy both deeply human and open to a transcendent God. An example of how this opposition affected the beginnings of the Institute is the question of the language to be used for lectures. For two years Latin was imposed upon the lecturers in spite of the wishes of Mercier. The result was that all but the Church students deserted the lectures. However, changes both at Rome and Louvain enabled Mercier to carry out the main lines of his original plan, on the eve of his accession to the Archbishopric of Malines.

The author of this account of the foundation of the Institute is well known by his *Philosophie de L'Etre. Essai de Synthèse Métaphysique* (2nd ed., Louvain, 1947) and by his *Introduction to Philosophy* (trans. H. McNeill, Herder, London, 1947). Formerly President of the Interdiocesan Seminary of Louvain, the foundation of which was closely connected with that of the Institute, he is now President of and Professor at the Higher Institute of Philosophy. In these three positions he is a successor of Mgr Mercier, whose achievements could hardly find a better exponent. The narrative is written with a pleasing simplicity of style, and gives an orderly and careful account of the facts. The author's care for objectivity has led to an accumulation of details that some may perhaps find wearisome.

The publishers are to be commended for a satisfactorily produced book with few misprints—those observed are mainly a misuse of the circumflex accent.

I. G. N.

The Everyday Catholic. By Martin Harrison, O.P. Pp. 376. (Blackfriars. 18s. 6d.)

The publication of *The Everyday Catholic* in 1947 placed the Catholic community in lasting debt to Father Harrison. The issue of a second edition indicates the obvious need for a work of this kind and the interest it has aroused in the minds of those who are trying to live their Faith. Preachers are inclined to inveigh sternly against the inconsistency of "Sunday Catholics" who leave their religion behind them in church, and whose lives in business and pleasure are hardly distinguishable from those of the amoral masses around them. Effective transference, however, from sanctuary to market place is a diffi-

cult process; and the problems which have to be faced when bringing the ideals of the Faith to bear upon work-a-day realities are often causes of bitter distress to many serious souls. *The Everyday Catholic* will afford relief to those who are troubled in this way. It supplies standards and criteria which will be easily applicable in a variety of settings and which will be of inestimable value in the disturbing situations which harass the Catholic conscience in contemporary life.

Father Harrison's chapters range over a wide field of topics. At one extreme there are excellent articles on "The Holy Trinity", "The Mystical Body", "The Holy Ghost", "The Blessed Eucharist"; at the other there are eminently practical discussions of subjects like "Gossip", "Forbearance", "Work", "Little Things", "Moods and Feelings". In every chapter theory and practice are effectively fused; doctrine is extended into directives for living, and the pragmatic suggestions for details of conduct are founded squarely on supernatural truths. Since the book is intended primarily for a lay public, it is to be feared that the somewhat academic manner of exposition may repel those whose education has been less than rigidly scholastic. At times one is tempted to congratulate Father Harrison on providing excellent conference matter for Directors of Sodalitys and Retreat Masters, rather than easily comprehensible guidance for "the busy mother of a family, the hard-working father, the tradesman, the business girl". Still, perhaps we are inclined to underestimate the capacity of our people. The ordinary communist does not shirk the rigid ideological drills imposed upon him by his party tutors; in consequence he impresses his fellow workers by his ability in applying the solutions of the Dialectic to all sorts of situations. The diffidence shown by even well-educated Catholics when they are asked to explain the intellectual, moral and social implications of their religion is often startling by contrast. Submission to mental disciplines like those provided by these chapters might provide a remedy for this unhappy state of affairs.

More attention might have been given to the life of our Lord as the Model, the Teacher, the Leader, the Sanctifier, of the daily life of the Christian. Also, a fuller consideration of the sacramental system and its bearings upon day to day existence might prove to be more fruitful than some of the more ethical chapters. No one book, however, can contain everything: Father Harrison's excellent work offers so much to the reader that it would be unreasonable to complain that it does not give us more.

G. J. S.

The American Apostolate. Edited by Leo Richard Ward, C.S.C. (The Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland. \$4.25.)

EIGHTEEN writers have contributed to this symposium essays on what Father Ward in his introduction calls "usable techniques" of apostolic work. The Apostolate described is that to the Catholics of the U.S.A.; there are only passing references to the work for conversions. So far as influencing the non-catholic masses is concerned the approach of the writers is that of the Y.C.W. "Change the climate of Society," is the slogan, "and then the ground is prepared for conversions." Within those terms of reference the book paints a picture of vigorous and clear-eyed Catholic activity. Clear-eyed because there is a refreshing note of self-criticism where it is needed. The best chapters are those on the attempts being made to put into practice the social teaching of the Church, and the chapter which gives an account of the astonishing range of action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. There is a fascinating chapter on Catholic Rural Life. We should dearly love to be present when Monsignor Ligutti asks a summer school of 300 nuns to recite after him line by line the stirring anthem:

A garden and a cow,
A smokehouse and a sow
Twenty-four hens and a rooster
And you'll have more than you useter.

But the main body of the book is concerned with the evangelization of the industrial society that is the U.S.A. Here you have American efficiency, Catholic charity and apostolic zeal combined. And yet somehow or other the picture is drab. What is missing? It is just that element that cannot be reduced to a usable technique—the art of living that was understood by men who produced the great cathedrals, the sculpture, the poetry and painting of the high Catholic cultures. This is not to decry technique. It is merely to make the point that Catholic life will always be impoverished until it is a complete culture. Nor is this meant as a criticism of the U.S.A. only. The same is true of our own country and most other places too. Maybe that is the answer to Father Ward's remark in his introductory chapter when after enumerating a series of converts he adds:

We seem to say, "Where would the liberal go, if he was going into religion at all, except into the Catholic Church?" The remarkable thing is that so few strays from liberalism and communism turn to the Church: half a dozen notable persons in these disturbed years!

All the activities listed in this volume are important, and it is inspiring to read of them being so thoroughly pursued. But they are not enough for a complete Catholic life. What is lacking? This reviewer's guess, for what it is worth, is that nothing has been found to replace the old Classical education.

G. D.

The Origin of Life: The Case for and against Evolution. By the Most Rev. M. Sheehan, D.D. Pp. vi + 34. (M. H. Gill and Son. 1s.)

HERE are the two chapters on Evolution from the late Dr Sheehan's *Apologetics and Catholic Doctrine*, changed slightly in form, but not at all in matter. There has long been a need for some handy statement in English of the Church's attitude to Evolution, and this pamphlet should do much towards preventing further misunderstanding and misrepresentation. In clearly divided sections, Dr Sheehan has treated of the several problems at issue; the origin of Life itself, the origin of the lower plants and animals, and of the body and soul of man. Each part gives the teaching of the Church and of prominent Catholic philosophers, thus defining the limits beyond which the truth cannot be found. Within these boundaries, the individual is free to accept or reject the evidence of science. Dr Sheehan, however, summarizes and criticizes this evidence in a manner that is not altogether satisfactory. He seems greatly to underestimate the palaeontological evidence (p. 8), while quite prepared to admit that "biologists, with few exceptions, believe that evolution has occurred" (p. 9). There is a certain misplacement of emphasis, in that his critical analysis of the alleged causes of evolution receives twice as full a treatment as the scientific evidence for the existence of the process itself. Had the former section been curtailed and extra attention been given to the interpretation of Genesis, the pamphlet would have been improved.

The chief regret one feels is that the pamphlet was not revised by someone more in sympathy with the theory of evolution. Dr Sheehan has obviously a right to his own personal opinion, but it seems a pity that he could not have kept the disfavour with which he obviously views the theory from showing itself in his writings. The Pope (in *Humani generis*) leaves the scientific question completely open; we wish Dr Sheehan had been as liberally minded.

However, these are no more than minor criticisms. The pamphlet is definitely recommended, and will prove of great service.

A. P.

The Home and its Inner Spiritual Life. By a Carthusian of Miraflores.

Pp. viii + 256. (Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland. \$3.50.)

MARRIAGE statistics become more startling every year. In the United States—as in Johannesburg, South Africa's American city—one marriage in every three ends in divorce. The number of divorced women in America is given as six millions; and the children of broken homes—the worst aspect of the whole tragic story—amount to more than five millions. Since almost all marriages appear to be contracted in a state of unusual happiness on the part of bride and bridegroom, it would be a surprise to the partners in marriages that turn out badly to be told that the trouble began on their wedding-day; yet it is true. Marrying couples usually take it for granted that by the mere fact of their marriage they inherit happiness as a part of the ceremony, the honeymoon seeming to prove it; whereas happy married life is something they themselves must cultivate if they are to possess it at all, as the author of this new book from America continually reminds them.

Is a Carthusian a proper person to write a book of this kind? Yes, when he is a theologian, a psychologist and the child of a good home and excellent parents. Obviously our author writes from experience when he describes the ideal father, the ideal mother and the ideal home; and he will capture the hearts of parish priests by his contention that these elements in the perfect marriage are largely the reward accruing to ideal parishioners. The true unit of human society is the family, and the parish is the unit of Christian Society—the Church. Thus is the spiritual life of the family bound up with parochial life, the parish church and the Altar of God.

Unhappily this book, except in a limited degree, is not likely to come into the hands of the people for whom it is chiefly intended. Much as we should like to think of its being read by engaged couples, and by young people who are seeking a partner in life, we cannot escape the conviction that it will be bought and read mostly by priests—to whom, be it said, it will be of real value for the pulpit. It touches upon every aspect of marriage, dealing fully with the more important issues of St Paul's "Great Sacrament". The author brings his work to a close by making a plea for the family Evening Mass, modelled on the "Dry Mass" of the Carthusians. Some such form of family prayers appears to be of the very essence of true home life; and there is a fundamentally sound ring about the modern saying: "The family that prays together, stays together."

Retreat Notes. By Rev. Joseph Keating, S.J. Pp. ix + 99. (Gill, Dublin. 6s.)

LIKE Cardinal Newman, Father Keating would seem to have made his meditations with a pencil in his hand. At his death in the year 1939 he left many personal notebooks, among them a set of thirteen exercise books containing the jottings of his private retreat meditations over a period of more than fifty years. It is chiefly from this source that Father Philip Caraman, S.J., has drawn the material which he has compiled and edited to form this valuable collection of an eminent's priest's spiritual notes.

Deep thought, the result of contemplating the truths of the Gospel, here finds expression in concise, cryptic phrases that present the very essence of the matter in mind. There is not a superfluous word to disturb the depth of the author's spiritual reflections. Many of us recall with pleasure the *Editorial Comments* that gave distinction to *The Month* in the days when it was controlled by the able hands of Father Keating. The little book of his transcribed retreat considerations bears the same masterly touch of the clear and careful thinker.

The House and Table of God. By Rev. W. Roche, S.J. Pp. viii + 149. (Longmans. 8s. 6d.)

THE late Father Roche specialized in work for children, the fruit—in written form—of his talks and instructions being his little books of children's prayers, and his best-known work *The House and Table of God* which, after a lapse of twenty years, now appears in a new impression to satisfy increasing demands.

Here are set down many of the fundamentals of our Faith, much in the manner of Father Roche's *modus loquendi* when conducting his retreats to children; and the dedication of the book suffices to show how widespread was the author's work among them: "To each of the ten thousand children who have been with me in retreat." Rarely does one find the eternal truths presented with a simplicity so attractive as in this valuable little work.

Jesus Christ, Saviour of the World. By Rev. Wm. Raemers, C.S.S.R. Pp. 60. (Burns & Sons, 195 Buccleuch Street, Glasgow, C.3. 1s. 3d.)

UNDER normal home and school conditions our children quickly become familiar with the incidents in the life of Christ, but in a disconnected and inconsequent manner. Every Catholic child knows

about His birth at Bethlehem and His death on Calvary, but the Gospel otherwise is understood as a haphazard succession of events rather than an orderly sequence. To remedy this state of affairs, and to give a brief but comprehensive account of our Lord's life as a whole—for use particularly in schools—Father Raemers has written the Divine Story anew.

The author is well known for his clear and simple style so eminently suitable for children: he has probably given more children's retreats than has any other priest in the country, and he knows from long experience how to present facts to the mind of a child. In describing our Lord's life Father Raemers introduces on every possible occasion the words of the Evangelists, in the translation of Mgr Knox, thus ensuring that his readers will have no textual difficulties but will at once understand what our Lord said and what He did.

St Catherine Labouré and the Miraculous Medal. By James Mulvey. Pp. 16. (Burns & Sons, 195 Buccleuch Street, Glasgow, C.3. 6d.)

CATHERINE LABOURÉ, the Sister of Charity who was canonized five years ago, has enriched the world with two universally known means of Catholic devotion: the Miraculous Medal and the Sodality of the Children of Mary. In this booklet we are given an outline of the Saint's life and work that should rapidly increase her popularity as one of those souls especially favoured by our Lady in modern times, one sharing the privilege of St Bernadette and the children of Fatima. Very largely the life of the Saint was her apostolate of the Miraculous Medal. The success of her undertaking may be judged from the figures given by manufacturers: during the first ten years of production the number of medals stamped was more than two hundred millions.

Father Lebbe, a Modern Apostle. By Raymond de Jaegher. Pp. 40. (Paulist Press, 401 West 59th Street, New York.)

THIS heroic missionary, son of a Belgian father and an English convert mother, died in the year 1940 at the age of sixty-three, after a remarkable life full of labours in the service of his Master, and was buried in Chungking among his beloved Chinese. He had worked for many years in the Tientsin area, but through the machinations of a French Consul was seemingly banished in disgrace from the land that he had made his own. He used often to say: "Of course I am a Chinese." After leaving China he resided in Paris, where his

time was spent chiefly in the training of missionary students: and then, his good name having been re-established, he was allowed to return to his adopted country in the Far East. Father Lebbe was an accomplished linguist; one of his outstanding achievements was the editing and management of a Chinese daily paper. He also founded many Catholic Societies among his numerous Chinese converts. Three words sum up his spiritual life: Renunciation, Charity and Joy.

Forbidden and Suspect Societies. By Rev. L. McReavy. Pp. 16.

The Christadelphians and their Doctrine. By J. V. Walker. Pp. 18.
(Catholic Truth Society. 4d. each pamphlet.)

QUESTIONS concerning secret societies are frequently asked by Catholics, especially business men who are urged by their fellows to join, for instance, the Freemasons, and who cannot understand why it should be forbidden by the Church. In this new pamphlet the position of Catholics in respect of non-Catholic societies is clearly explained. Anyone who reads it will know exactly why he may not belong to such groups as the Odd-Fellows, the Grand Templars or the Sons of Temperance, but why membership of Rotary is permitted, at least for the laity.

Although happily not a numerous sect the Christadelphians have a fairly strong membership in some places, notably the Midlands, where Dr Walker was himself of their company before his conversion to Catholicism. He writes with the inside information that ensures a perfectly reliable account of these unpleasant enemies of the Church, who had their origin—not surprisingly—among the many dangerous quack religions of the America of a hundred years ago. Perhaps the best indication of the worthlessness of Christadelphian teaching is to say that it has some affinity with that of Jehovah's Witnesses.

Thirty-Three Fridays. By Father Aloysius, O.F.M.Cap. Pp. viii + 188. (Gill & Son, Dublin. 7s. 6d.)

Whom My Soul Loveth. By Benedict Ballou, O.F.M. Pp. xi + 304.
(St Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, New Jersey. \$2.00.)

WITH the basic idea that our Lord was ever looking forward—from the first years of His life to the last—to the Sacrifice of Calvary, Father Aloysius thinks of Him as celebrating each Passover with an eager anticipation of the final one in Holy Week. When that fatal day came He spent it with His Apostles and then went to His death.

All that He said and did during Maundy Thursday and Good Friday is minutely examined to serve as short meditations for priests. Our Lord's sufferings are our richest source of inducement to mental prayer. Here they are exhaustively described that their many lessons might lead to a priest's closer union with his Master.

Whom My Soul Loveth is expressly for priests and religious, and has the particular purpose of encouraging them to make a private Holy Hour every month as a regular devotion. Each of the book's twelve chapters contains meditations under the headings of Adoration, Reparation, Petition and Thanksgiving, with many set prayers to emphasize the main ideas developed. The American spelling and mode of expression will not prevent the book from being a valuable aid to piety for English readers.

L. T. H.

Giving A Holy Hour. J. B. Stephenson, S.J. Pp. 113. (Gill & Son, 1951. 7s. 6d.)

This is a handbook many parish priests have been looking for. It contains a practical outline for twelve Holy Hours, one for each month of the year, using where possible the month's devotion as the leading thought, e.g. the Precious Blood in July and Christ the King in October. The same general scheme is used throughout the year and also the four-fold division of the Hour. The Rosary is said, but with different intentions for each decade, and is spread over the four sections. Only a few hymns are suggested and of these some are specially chosen to fit the particular theme. It is not quite clear how much of the time the people are *kneeling*—an important point—but it is good to see that the congregation is given plenty of opportunity to join in responses and time for their own private prayer. There is no sermon, for its place is taken by the meditation which opens each section, and except for the "Act" on page 83 long prayers and litanies are relegated to the Appendix.

It is clear that Fr Stephenson has had personal experience in conducting this Devotion, and of all the many schemes he has tried he gives us what he has found to be the best; but I found myself wishing he had given twelve *different* plans, so that priests could build up their own programmes and find by trial and error which best suited their particular needs. Surely sometimes he would read and expound a Scripture passage, or explain some pleasing detail of a hymn about to be sung. Did he always keep to the four-fold division or sometimes omit the Rosary in favour of some other devotions and preach a sermon? In such a Devotion as the Holy

Hour it is important to have a definite theme each time, as this book emphasizes, but it is also good to change the programme each month, especially those parts in which the people join. Some priests have the knack of drawing up a form of service; but Fr Stephenson has shown that it is possible for all of us to make the Holy Hour a very simple and effective act of worship.

Dialogued Eucharistic Hour Series. Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament. 36 pp. (New York. No price given.)

FOR those priests who prefer a booklet for the Holy Hour which can be read from the pulpit the American Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament have produced five little manuals. The sample reviewed here is entitled *Jesus is There*, and contains a complete Holy Hour with five hymns and the music. It is essential that everyone present should have a copy, for the congregation's part is very great indeed—greater than the priest's—and the purchase of sufficient copies (no price is given) might be expensive. Details about the series may be obtained from the English house of this Congregation at Gooding Avenue, Braunstone, Leicester.

The Dialogue Mass is apparently popular in the States, and these booklets apply the same idea to the Holy Hour, keeping the usual four-fold division of this Devotion, and (as the foreword says) bearing in mind Bl. Eymard's definition of Adoration as a conversation between the soul and our Lord. The style of devotion is very intimate and many might think it sentimental; for example, the priest's opening remarks contain the line, "My heart is tired, so tired tonight." In place of *well-known* versicles and responses quite long sentences are provided for the people to repeat, such as "Who are You, Lord,—Our Sacramental God;—Who are You, Lord,—Behind Your wheaten veil?" This particular response occurs twelve times in the Adoration section, and frankly I do not think it is likely to appeal to congregations on this side of the Atlantic. Space is allowed for three three-minute addresses and also for private prayers.

J. H. D.

Willingly to School. By Dom Hubert van Zeller. Pp. x + 262. (Sheed & Ward. 18s.)

READERS of Dom Hubert's books on the Spiritual Life will welcome this volume of his schoolboy memories; his lightness of touch, his readiness to dwell on his own mistakes, and his artist's skill in making the point of a good story or the facet of an odd character

stand out against its proper background make the book very hard to put down once it has been begun. Some of the persons involved, as Dick Stokes and Maurice Turnbull, became national figures later; but others, such as that delightful savant M. Félix Moorat (Officier d'Académie) with his idiomatic English "By Jingo! I've had such a wiggling from the Head!", and the immortal Herr Heronberger facing an English summer in a velvet-collared blue greatcoat, mittens, spats, and muffler have been rescued by Dom Hubert from almost complete oblivion.

Since these pages present so vividly the lighter side of Downside life in an age now past, it is only fair to record that these same years were also a great period of scholarship at Downside, when figures such as Prior Chapman, Abbot Ramsay, and Dom Hugh Connolly could be heard discussing in a corner of the calefactory, with Bishop Burton or Dean Armytage Robinson, the meaning of a phrase in the *Didascalia*, the date of the fragments of *Papias*, or the importance of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* to the text of the New Testament. Nor will the discerning reader fail to realize that it was this very education, which Dom Hubert illustrates so light-heartedly, that developed in him his deep knowledge and love of spiritual things.

J. D. A.

Grammatica della Lingua Ebraica. A. Carrozzini, S.J. Pp. xiv + 171. (Marietti, 1950. 800 lire.)

THE natural repugnance which most students bear to the learning of Hebrew is not eased when they have to rely on a grammar written in a language not their own. We in England have been helped over this first fence at least, and have learnt our rudiments from the still popular *Davidson*. The Italian seminarians have not been so fortunate, and if they had no access to a translation of the cumbersome *Gesenius* they have had to be content with a *Parenti*, *Vosen-Kaulen* or *Ogara*, all in Latin.

Fr Carrozzini has therefore done a great service not only to his own seminarians in Naples but also to all Italian students of Hebrew, in providing them with a grammar which is at once in their own language and accommodated to the restrictions of a scholastic timetable. It confines itself to what is going to be really useful for a beginner at the language, and wisely includes after each of the first nine lessons an exercise in correction which should ensure that the student has acquired something more than a superficial knowledge of the principles involved. These exercises could with profit have been elaborated and continued to the end of the grammar as in

Davidson; but adequate compensation is made by the copious anthology of biblical extracts which form an excellent introduction to the varied literary forms of the Old Testament. The student will be grateful for the notes explaining the more difficult words in this anthology, and for the detailed example of analysis and parsing which precedes it.

Perhaps the author is most to be congratulated on the bold step he has taken in breaking away from the traditional names of the verbal forms (*niphal*, *piel*, *pual*, etc.) and giving them names (*nigtal*, *qittel*, *quttal*, etc.) which really do illustrate the principles on which they are constructed. Other grammars would do well to follow this example.

H. J. RICHARDS

Christ in the Liturgy. By Dom Illtyd Trethowan, Monk of Downside Abbey. Pp. 150. (Sheed & Ward. 12s. 6d.)

SINCE we have now an embarrassing number of excellent books about the liturgy, either written originally in English or translated from the French or German, it may serve our readers best if we indicate in what way this one appears to differ from the rest. In the first place the reader of one or other of these books gets the impression that the author has been at some labour to discover facts about the history of the Roman rite and is determined to pass this information on to his readers, whether they want it or not, and whether it is relevant or irrelevant to the present-day worship of the faithful. Dom Illtyd on the contrary impresses the reader as, firstly, a scholar who has read widely and digested fully all that can be known about his subject, and on this solid foundation builds easily and naturally, without unduly obtruding his learned equipment; yet, secondly, the building he erects is not an archaeological museum but a church, a monastic or maybe a parish church, which is open all day, which is loved by the people who worship in it, and which it is his purpose to make loved by them still more. We have in these essays, accordingly, a blend of theory and practice, not always easy reading indeed, but of the kind which relates the liturgy to the practical life of the faithful, takes full account of difficulties which occur, and offers an adequate solution of them all. The essays are written in an easy attractive style, without that didactic and authoritarian air of putting everyone right and reforming the whole Church which, in the writings of some liturgical enthusiasts, often causes only an amused resentment. The chapters discuss both the structure of the Mass and the liturgical cycle, concluding with an epilogue on Christian perfection and

intellectualism. Notwithstanding the flood of liturgical literature there is room for more books of this kind, and with qualified writers like Dom Iltyd in our midst it seems unnecessary to publish on this subject translations of foreign works, unless they are of outstanding merit.

E. J. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

OUR LATIN LITURGY

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1952, XXXVII, pp. 137, 314, 377-8, 445-6)

Father Leonard Boase, S.J., writes:

Father Valentin suggests that the faithful would follow the liturgy more eagerly if they understood it, and he instances the growing appreciation of English poetry since the B.B.C. has made it possible to hear it "declaimed by well-trained and beautiful voices". May I suggest that the English *v.* Vernacular debate is masking another point: even without understanding the words the people would follow the Mass if the Latin were spoken well. Children and even animals respond to the *meaning* in a voice without understanding the words. But many of us rattle through the Latin, intent upon finishing quickly, and could scarcely deny the charge of "gabbling". The trouble would not be cured by using English; the prayers in English prove this. The cure lies in observing the laws of the Church concerning the way prayers should be said. If they were uttered in such a way that the very sound of them showed they were consciously addressed to Almighty God, the people would listen. Heaven preserve us from the priest who indulges in dramatizations and inept histrionics! But between that extreme and the "well-trained and beautiful voices" of the B.B.C. there is a wide scope for improvement in ourselves.

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1952, XXXVII, pp. 204, 383, 447)

Abbot Taylor writes:

I write far away from my copy of THE CLERGY REVIEW, but I think I am right in saying that Father Ripley cites the success of

the average parish priest in conducting a study class as an answer to my plea for more clergy with an apostolic vocation. I agree that any member of our pastoral clergy ought to be able to conduct a study class successfully, but I feel that a study class is a soft option for an apostle. In my view an apostle should be able to cope with such an audience as St Paul met on the Areopagus, or Father Barberi in the early Victorian midlands or the Catholic Evidence Guild in contemporary Hyde Park. The Catholic Missionary Society consists of selected men capable of such specialized and laborious work, and I pray that our Bishops may be able to supply fresh recruits to their ranks. The appointment by the Hierarchy of Dr Heenan as its Superior some years ago, with all the valuable consequences which flowed therefrom, shows that our Bishops fully realize the great potentialities of this Society. As a boy I was privileged to attend two missions to non-Catholics preached by Father Chase, the founder of the C.M.S., and from this unforgettable experience I realized that Father Chase's object was to *provoke* interest in the Church among unbelievers. Hence his invention of the question-box. My original and only point is that the work inaugurated by Father Chase is specialist work requiring priests (not laypeople) with a special training, and that the consolidation of their work (study classes, etc.) is rightly left to the pastoral clergy, who are already trained for that rôle. But the key to the situation lies in the recruiting of far more priest-apostles. The number of souls gathered in by the pastoral clergy will correspond strictly to the number of preachers who go about sowing the seed.

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